

JPRS 77278

29 January 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1846

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

29 January 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1846

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Albanian Novelist Writes of Visit to Kosovo (Editorial; DRITA, 28 Dec 80)	1
Briefs	
Romanian-Yugoslav Airplane	3
Soviet, Romanian Refugees in France	3
Albanian Linguists' Pristina Visit	4

ALBANIA

Need for Improvement of Collegiality in Armed Forces Stressed (Dhori Jorgji; RRUGA E PARTISE, Aug 80)	5
Poor Results in Foreign Language Study Deplored (Ylvi Basha, Reshat Konci; ZERI I POPULLIT, 20 Nov 80)	15
Briefs	
Finnish Ambassador Received	18

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ Weekly Analyzes Reagan Foreign Policy Options (Jaromir Sedlak; TVORBA, Nov 80)	19
Report on Ongoing Assessment of Nomenclatura Cadres (Jan Papp; ZIVOT STRANY, 17 Nov 80)	26

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Tisch, Toepfer Addresses to 11th FDGB Executive Meeting Published (TRIBUNE, 4 Nov 80)	33
Report on Meeting	
Tisch Concluding Address	
Toepfer on Ideological Tasks	
Presidium Report on Accomplishments, by Heinz Neukrantz	

November 1980 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed (Helmut Caspar; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 Nov 80)	66
Summaries of Major 'EINHEIT' Articles (EINHEIT, Nov 80).....	68

POLAND

New Chairman of Government Commission for Strike Negotiations Appointed (LE MONDE, 23 Aug 80)	73
Italian Journalist Interviews Catholic Deputy Premier Ozdowski (Jerzy Ozdowski Interview; IL TEMPO, 14 Dec 80)	76
KIK Official Wielowieyski Interviewed on 'Solidarity' (Andrzej Wielowieyski Interview; CONQUISTA DEL LAVORO, 17 Nov 80)	80
Government Tells Four Swedish Correspondents To Leave (Anders Ohman; DAGENS NYHETER, 10 Dec 80)	89
Intellectuals' Appeal for Free Trade Unions Noted (LE MONDE, 23 Aug 80)	91
Profile of Polish Strikers Analyzed (Jacques Estager; L'HUMANITE, 23 Sep 80)	93
French Journalist Comments on 'Polish Summer' (Jean Elleinstein; LE MONDE, 23 Aug 80)	97
Underground Publisher Chojecki on Easing of Censorship (Bengt Holmqvist; DAGENS NYHETER, 10 Dec 80)	100
Civil Defense Principles, Examples of Programs Presented (ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, 2 Nov 80; PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ, Oct 80).....	103
Definition, Goals and Organization Stimulation of Young People's Interest, by Stefan Fidyk Program at 'Rawar' Plant, by Stanislaw Zimnicki Programs on Merchant Ships, by Jan Gren	

ROMANIA

Activity of Jehovah's Witness Reported, Condemned (Editorial; SCINTEIA, 6 Dec 80)	120
'National Registry of Cancer' To Be Established (Alexandru Trestioreanu Interview; ROMANIA LIBERA, 4 Dec 80)	121

Briefs		
	Dangers of Overeating	123

YUGOSLAVIA

Controversy Aired Over Television Drama on Strike		
(Mladen Maloca; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 30 Nov 80)		124
Discontent Reported Lingering Among Skopje Locomotive Engineers		
(Toma Dzadzic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 23 Nov 80)		128
Commercialized Memoirs, Other Potboilers Criticized		
(Slobodanka Ast, Milan Milosevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 23 Nov 80)		132

Briefs		
	Policemen Sentenced	138

ALBANIAN NOVELIST WRITES OF VISIT TO KOSOVO

[Editorial report] AU101931--Tirana DRITA in Albanian on 28 December 1980 publishes on pages 4, 13 and 14 an approximately 4,000-word article entitled "In Kosovo, Among Brothers," by Ismail Kadare, a prominent Albanian writer and novelist, following a visit he made recently to the autonomous socialist province of Kosovo on the occasion of the publication of a collection of his works by the Rilindja Publishing House in Pristina.

Throughout the article he gives an account of the friendship, kindness and hospitality he received everywhere. He begins his article referring to the tumultuous events which characterize the history of this region, with its waves of invasions and battles, the most momentuous of which is the one fought on the plain of Kosovo in 1389. Kadare writes: "It is not fortuitous that this plain was selected as the field of the first resistance of the united Balkan peoples against the imperial Osman [Turkish] army." Referring to a monument erected on the site, "which claims to explain the battle," Ismail Kadare casts doubt on the veracity of the version of the battle given on a plaque adorning the monument, adding: "Seeing the monument, one thinks that it would be well to replace this superfluous plaque with texts from the ancient ballads of all the Balkan peoples who took part in this battle, as well as with texts from the Turkish chroniclers who, surprisingly, witness the drama more accurately."

Kadare goes on to mention briefly a number of legendary Kosovo-born leaders who played a role during various stages of the region's tumultuous history and leads into the present, writing: "The dimensions given by the great history are to be found in some ways in the legacy of contemporaries. The vitality of the people of Kosovo is magnificent. It is linked with all the calamities that have tried to extinguish life on this soil. It is not simply a high birthrate. It is the reverberant active opposition to these calamities. It is a conscious, healthy and pure fertility that has nothing in common with the high fertility of some backward countries. It is the fertility of the wedding of the flag," by which he refers to a widespread custom of placing the Albanian flag at the center of decorations at weddings in Kosovo. "From this viewpoint," he goes on to say, "the women of Kosovo deserve a place of honor in its history. It is these women who, with their motherhood, rectified the consequences of barbarian calamities, from epidemics to armies. It is the Kosovo women and girls of today, with their cultured behavior, their sweet manner of speech which come straight out of the depths of the great Albanian popular culture, which could not be exploited by the vulgarity, the vagabondage and the language of the inn and docks of the invading soldier, the language of immorality and savagery."

Further on, Ismail Kadare expresses his deep pleasure at the fact that the normative literary language, that is the unified literary language officially adopted both in Albanian itself and in Kosovo, is now spoken "with such ease" in Kosovo, from young children to the deacons of culture, referring here to the "persistent efforts" of many foreign "specialists" who try to divide the Albanian nation into "Ghegs and Tosks." Kadare says that in the work to unify the language on both sides of the borders, "a particular place is occupied by Kosovo in this monumental action."

Kadare then goes on with a lengthy account of discussions he had with writers, artists, scholars and other personalities of science and culture in Kosovo, a favorite subject of these discussions being, naturally, "our literary heritage, the cultivated literature as well as the oral wealth, in the Balkan and European context." He concludes: "We are of the same opinion as the Kosovo comrades as to the great qualities of the Albanian oral heritage, which ranks among the wealthiest in the Balkans and Europe."

A large part of Kadare's account of his discussions with his Kosovo colleagues is then devoted to "more narrow professional problems," such as literary innovations and techniques, and related questions.

CSO: 2100

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN-YUGOSLAV AIRPLANE--According to unconfirmed information, Romania might be taking over, alone, the production of the JuRom Orao ground attack airplane, the development of which had been assured in collaboration with Yugoslavia. It would seem that the Yugoslav government does not want to acquire a second lot of Orao airplanes which would be added to the 25 planes already produced and delivered. Romania would like to buy at least 100 more airplanes over the course of the next four years, in supplementary lots of 25 planes each. According to my information, the program will be taken over completely by Romania and the name of the airplane will be changed. [Text] [Paris DEFENSE INTERARMES in French Jan 81 p 9]

SOVIET, ROMANIAN REFUGEES IN FRANCE--This is the second time in less than three weeks that some Romanian tourists--a dozen at least--who were taking a cruise on the Soviet ship Aya Vazovski profiting from their stop in Marseilles, abandoned their ship and asked the French authorities for temporary asylum in order to escape to the West. The refugees include a couple of doctors--Mircea and Mihaela Oltan, 35 and 29 years old, respectively, and an art cabinet maker, Emil Rosca, 40 years old, and two other persons who want to remain incognito. In addition to the six or seven defections--the French police do not give us the exact figure--the first stop of the Aya Vazovski was marked by a dramatic event: three members of the ship's crew--all Soviets--were hit by a car as they walked along a street near the port. They were Aleksandr Rondratir (24 years old), Galina Ozorina (21 years old) and Valentin Charcorosy (36 years old). The Soviet authorities wanted the injured crew members to remain on board the ship but the doctors treating them refused. Did the ship return on 26 December to get the crew members? It is a mystery. But the repetition of the 9 December incident upset the police. The facility with which five new tourists succeeded in freeing themselves from their guardians and asking for asylum is disturbing. What intrigues the French counter-espionage specialists is the fact that, in general, persons allowed to go on deluxe cruises to Western countries are carefully selected: good citizens, good Marxists, with confidence in their leaders. Obviously, this selection process aims at avoiding defections. The officials in Marseilles state that there is no evidence that they are spies. But several police officers say, in private, that this new affair intrigues them and that it is possible that one or several of the defectors might work for an intelligence service of an Eastern country. [Excerpts] [Paris LE FIGARO in French 5 Jan 81 p 26]

ALBANIAN LINGUISTS' PRISTINA VISIT--The group of linguists of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania headed by the director of the Institute of Linguistics and Literature Prof Androkli Kostallari returned from Pristina to Tirana. Upon their stay in Kosova the linguists attended the scientific symposium devoted to the actual problems of the culture of the Albanian language, organized by the Albanological Institute of Pristina. 70 reports and papers were delivered at the symposium on fundamental problems of the present-day development of the Albanian national literary language, the fixation and further spread of the literary norms, as well as other important questions of the culture of the language. Amongst them 8 papers were delivered by the working people of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania. [AU250855 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 24 Dec 80]

CSO: 2020

NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT OF COLLEGIALITY IN ARMED FORCES STRESSED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Aug 80 pp 45-54

[Article by Dhorë Jorgji: "Collegial Work in the Army Must Serve the Political and Combat Readiness of Troops"; passages between slant lines printed in boldface]

[Text] Collegiality, as one of the basic principles of the method of leadership of the party, the state organs and the mass organizations, permeates the entire life and activity of the party organs and organizations and of the commands in the army.

The management of work in the army through the party committees and the reinstatement of the functions of commissars in the commands of all instances brought, among other things, the strengthening of the leadership and management role of the party organs and organizations and the better implementation of the principle of democratic centralism and of collegial work in the entire life of the party and of the commands of military departments and units. And, it is a fact, that discussions and the establishment of collegiality in the meetings of the party and of commands to deal with major problems of political and military education, training, combat readiness and other matters, have improved the quality of work and increased, to a higher level, the participation and responsibility of cadres and military men in regard to the implementation of guidelines, directives and decisions issued by the party and the Defense Council.

Nevertheless, there are still incorrect concepts and practices in this field; and, if the harm they cause is not evaluated and if they are not fought and eliminated, they will hamper the work for the qualitative and scheduled fulfillment of the tasks linked with the comprehensive training of all troops of the defense structures.

First of all, in the struggle against erroneous concepts and practices in this field and in order to crown this struggle with success, every communist, cadre and military man must understand that /collegiality,/ as the component part of the work method and management,/ is based on the conscientious collective judgment and action in regard to the presentation and solution of problems and in regard to the execution of the tasks, because, collegiality influences the further strengthening of the leadership, organizational and managerial role of the party organs and organizations and because the fulfillment of this requirement is necessary for every sector, therefore, also for the armed forces./

Comrade Enver Noxha teaches us that "In the army, who makes the decision and, on what principles he has made the decision, is important. What is important here is that a correct decision is made." And, he continues to say that decisions "are made by the party committee, where the best comrades who can correctly lead are chosen; while, the commander gives orders and commands on the basis of the party decision" (Enver Noxha, Works, Volume 31, pp 10-11).

Efforts have been made to implement these teachings and guidelines and there are results. Collegial work has created a healthy atmosphere in the military departments and units. The unity of thought and of action, accompanied by deeper ideological and political convictions in regard to implementation of decisions and the fulfillment of the tasks, has been strengthened in the party organs and organizations, in the army commands and everywhere else. Collegial work has served to instill a feeling of simplicity and respect for the comrades of the forum, the communists and the masses; it has prevented the leadership organs, the party organizations and the army commands, especially the cadres, from carrying out unilateral and imprudent activities and manifestations of arrogance, subjectivism and egoism.

However, while such a situation in general and such a tendency of development exist, we must not underestimate and neglect some manifestations of the formal implementation of the principle of collegiality. There are some party committees and bureaus which believe that they are implementing the principle of collegiality then they are content merely to present the problem in the meeting; the fact that not infrequently in these meetings they give more tasks rather than engaging in collegial discussions about and making collegial decisions in regard to the implementation of these tasks does not attract their attention. There also are cases when a secretary of a party committee or of a party bureau tries to discuss tasks and to place personal opinion and action beyond the judgment and control of the forum or to use the forum meeting for approving only his own proposals, instead of encouraging the active participation of the members of the forum in the study, discussions and solving of problems which are presented to the forum.

In the struggle against such practices and in order to eliminate them, it is essential to thoroughly understand that collegial work should not be limited to meetings for approving decisions and even less for approving decisions formally. Collegial work begins with the broad involvement of the thought of the masses in the problems that have emerged and that require a solution; it continues with lively discussions about the problems to be treated, with debates on opinions in the organization or forum, so as to reach the most correct and most mature conclusions in order to create a single conviction and opinion about the tasks which emerge, so as to increase the feeling of responsibility in every one so that he will mobilize himself for the fulfillment of the tasks and, finally, for drafting and approving the relevant decision in a collegial manner. "Collegial thinking and acting," Comrade Enver Noxha teaches us, "is the deepest and most correct thinking and acting which plays the decisive role in the fulfillment of the party leadership. Collegiality eliminates bureaucracy and arbitrariness and, at the same time, revives individual thought and action and prevents the creation of routine and the spreading of conformism" (Enver Noxha, "Report to the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Workers Party," pp 102-103).

And, in order to conceive and implement the principle of collegiality in the best way possible and with great effectiveness, it is necessary to understand just as deeply how much and how the personal method of management, which excludes the broad participation of the communists and cadres and the masses in discussions and in the solution of the problems, which stifles and liquidates the struggle of thoughts, debates, criticism and self-criticism—weakens and harms the work of the party organs and organizations and of the army commands. The judgment of problems according to personal opinion is based on the petit-bourgeois concept of underestimating comrades' thoughts; it is the result of arrogance, self-over-estimation and of contempt for democratic centralism. It is alien for our leadership cadres to think that, as the party has placed them in management positions, therefore, their thoughts and actions are always correct and indisputable. On the contrary, being in leadership positions requires feelings of responsibility in order to know and consistently implement the military line of the party, so that even personal activity will be submitted to the judgment of the party organs and organizations, of the responsible cadres and even of military men.

Collegial work is very important, especially in matters concerning the selection and placement of cadres, so that the criteria established by the party will be implemented everywhere and always and so that the struggle will be waged against subjectivism and personal politics. Every irregular activity in this direction has negative consequences for the work itself and for the cadres themselves, because, it creates a favorable terrain for nurturing conformism, servility and fear to speak and to defend the truth; these are practices and concepts which are not permitted anywhere, especially in the army.

/The party organs and organizations successfully execute their collegial leadership when the revolutionary thoughts and attitude of the communists and of every member of the forum are powerfully unleashed in their treatment of the problems,/ on the basis of the consistent implementation of the party norms that regulate and develop its internal democratic, living and revolutionary life.

As a result of efforts to prevent distortions in the implementation of these norms, the activities of the communists and cadres have been increased and expanded in the army, as everywhere else. The communists and members of forums are further increasing their feeling of responsibility for the knowledge and implementation of internal democracy in the process of the sound and vigorous life of the party organs and organizations and are participating more actively in the discussions of problems and in the development of criticism and self-criticism. They are showing greater concern for the preparation and development of meetings and for introducing in them the problems that disturb the departments and units. Everywhere the people are working much better to implement the recommendation of the Party Central Committee that "development of the party meetings is the main expression of democracy in the party, the concrete expression of the vigorous participation of the masses of the party in the discussion and solving of problems," because "the party meetings are an irreplaceable form for increasing the forces of the party and for keeping these forces fresh and with new energies," because, these meetings "not only greatly influence the problem that is being examined, but also revitalize the entire life of the party." (Main Documents of the Albanian Workers Party, Volume IV, pp 428-429).

Although there are good results in this field, there still are some problems which should be taken hold of and solved, so that the work method and internal life of the party organizations and party organs will be further revolutionized. We stress this fact, because, there still are some basic party organizations, party bureaus and party committees that not infrequently develop a "peaceful" internal life, without discussions and vigorous debates and without criticism and self-criticism. There are communists and, sometimes, even members of the forums who do not properly feel the irresponsibility for the work of the party; therefore, they remain indifferent in the meetings or approve anything that is set forth before them; they do not make their contribution to determining the tasks and measures that should be taken for solving the problems. From analyses of such cases, it is clear that behind these manifestations there have been and there are concepts and practices of a liberal nature, showing lack of the spirit of criticism, especially criticism from below to above and lateral criticism, so as not to "spoil" relationships with the person in charge or with a comrade, and there are signs of conformism, of sick favoritism and so forth, including all their negative consequences not only for the development of the internal life of the organization or of the forum, but also for their entire activity to insure and strengthen their leadership role everywhere, over everyone and everything.

It is clear that in these cases, responsibility devolves on all the communists of the organization or on the forum members where such a lukewarm internal life evolves or who allow violations of the party norms. However, practice has shown and is showing that the main responsibility falls on those communists and forum member cadres with higher responsibility who not only do not worry about such a situation and do not exercise all their influence to improve the situation, but also, not infrequently, are precisely the ones who, because of their attitudes, become the cause for the creation of that unhealthy situation in the organization or the forum. Thus, for example, as it appeared at the basic party organization of a military department, where weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the commissar and the party secretary were passed over in silence and were not criticized, the main responsibility for tolerating such a situation in the organization devolved on these two leadership cadres who not only liked praises and compliments, but also liked the servility of the others and their conformity with their own thoughts and attitudes; and, moreover, when correct criticism had been made, they had not supported it. Of course, when everything became clear, the basic party organization kept an attitude of criticism towards the situation that had been created in general, severely criticized, especially, these two comrades, and set concrete measures to remedy the situation. However, comprehensive conclusions can and must be drawn from this case.

From such activities, it appears clear that those cadres who seek to impose on the communists and the organization or the party forum by force or by the authority given to them by the position which has been entrusted on them, or who seek to be placed in privileged positions in the organizations or the forums, so that they can use these positions only to establish tasks and to distribute to each one his own "share of blame," are out of their mind. All are equal in the party and all must submit themselves to the anvil of the party; as a matter of fact, the responsible persons are obliged to be exemplary everywhere and in everything /because they are the ones/ from whom the others must learn and be inspired.

The meetings of the party organization or forum are an indispensable norm, one of the main forms for fulfilling collegial leadership. However, collegial leadership cannot be combined simply with the fact that the meeting was held or that the problem was discussed and that a decision on it was adopted. The meeting has a great importance; however, it always marks the beginning and not the termination of work. In order to implement the decisions taken collegially, a comprehensive work is required on the part of all communists or forum members in regard to the mobilization, organization and involvement of the people in concrete actions.

In general, this is the way that party organs and organizations in the military units present and settle this matter. But, here and there, one can observe some erroneous practices, such as, for example, the idea of "solving" everything in meetings and of calling, for everything, a meeting of the organization or of the party forum and of the command, staff and the working collective, thinking that this is the only way to assure collegial leadership and to fulfill the tasks. In general, this tendency is observed where meetings are carried out without much success, where problems are discussed and discussed all over again and where problems are not properly solved and where decisions are taken and taken all over again but not accompanied by the necessary organizational measures and by a concrete work for their implementation and, therefore, they are not fulfilled. Thus, the party bureau of a military unit had been called on 9 times within 1 year for the same problem, of course, for an important problem, but, nevertheless, the tasks assigned it had not been fulfilled. The reason was obvious: this party bureau was not dealing with concrete activities, but with bureaucratic work.

The quality and effectiveness of collegial work is also affected by the habits of putting many questions on the agenda of the meeting, that is, 7 or 8 or even 12 different problems. In these cases, the members of the forum are bogged down in the morass of things and in the sea of trifles, or in such matters that, as a rule, should be treated and solved by the responsible government organs. By acting in this way, it is understood that there cannot be depth in work and detailed discussions, but mechanical firings of suggestions and recommendations of decisions and orders, or formal approvals of decisions and work plans. Of course, there are many problems; but, the party teaches us that we should always take hold of the main link and give priority to the problem which helps solve the other tasks. It is true that many problems arise for the party organs and organizations and that these problems require a solution; but, the duty of the party organs and organizations is to choose the exact problems with which they themselves will deal and those which will be treated and solved by their levers, the army commands and the Youth organizations; afterwards, they must also set the order as to which problem to deal with first and which other problem to deal with last. This army commands and staffs are the organs entrusted by the party with the implementation of the party military line for the education and combat readiness of the army and the soldier people. The party organs, party organizations and the communists properly execute the leadership of the party in their commands and staffs when they introduce, in their work, the spirit of proletarian party-mindedness, not by substituting or doubling it or by carrying out duplicate work with it. Work coordination creates the conditions for finding the best ways to set forth and solve the tasks and problems that emerge in the army departments and units.

According to what has been said above, it appears that /the implementation of the principle and the spirit of collegiality is extended not only to the proper examination of problems in a collegial manner and to taking decisions in regard to them, but also to the organization of the execution of decisions and to the fulfillment of the tasks one by one and all together,/ by combining and coordinating all factors and the work of all links which, together, guarantee the achievement of success. /"When the task is set,"/ Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, /"it must be analyzed without losing time, attentively pursuing and monitoring what has been done and what has not been done, so that the objective or the work will be achieved on the expected schedule, something which is done when everyone and all together, with great feeling of personal and collective responsibility, devote all coordinated forces to the implementation of the collegial decision.

In regard to this important matter, concern has been increased and there is much positive experience in the army. Some party organs and organizations are making efforts to combine better and better the measures of the ideological and political work with the military and organizational measures. In regard to complex tactical training, many military units are taking complete measures to activate the communists, the commands and the Youth organizations; their work is coordinated with that of the party organizations, the government organs and the mass organizations in the terrain and so forth. As a result, the qualitative indicators of training have also been improved. However, there are cases, too, when some party organs and organizations, narrowly comprehending their leadership, organizational and managerial role, limit their work solely to taking decisions, thinking that the organization of their implementing is the duty of the party apparatuses and party secretaries. These concepts and practices become the reason that many decisions are not properly conveyed to cadres and army men and that tasks are not analyzed and explained to them; while, some members of forums and communists, instead of dealing with the organization of the solution of problems, wait for the organization and solution of these problems to be set by other people. Thus, at a military unit, although the party organs and organizations had discussed the problem for a successful development of the complex training and had taken decisions about and even set the relevant tasks, nevertheless, the organizational work for implementing them was not properly done. The members of the forum, the communists and cadres did not properly explain to the troops the requirements of training and did not arouse the healthy opinion against the manifestations of liberalism; consequently, the troops did not go to training properly prepared, violations of discipline occurred, the implementation of combat regulations was trampled on and many cadres and communists did not maintain their exemplary role and so forth.

Taking into consideration the fact that collegiality requires that every communist and forum member must deeply feel his responsibility toward the implementation of the decisions and tasks of the party, importance is also given to the action, that is, how one should work so that every man will find the way to implement the collegial decision and will devote all his strength to fulfilling the tasks that stem from this decision. Planning of work plays an important role in this field; it guides you in dealing with the main issues, so you do not fall in banalities, and in using correct work method and abandoning your activity to spontaneity. From different observations which have been made, it appears that in this field there are weaknesses and one-sidedness, work in campaigns, neglect

of the main issues and so forth. Some communists and cadres, accustomed to the daily routine work, have difficulty in planning their daily, weekly and monthly work; they believe that planning will not help them. These concepts, when they are not fought, become the cause of superficial work. This is the reason why the party called attention to the revolutionization of work in order that each one will, in his own task and function, work according to a concrete, applicable and controllable plan, so that every established task will find full solution, with quality and on schedule.

The control over the implementation of the tasks and decisions play an important role in organization work, because, without control there is no way to verify the correctness of directives and the result of the work that has been done and there is no way how to discover the difficulties, obstacles, weaknesses and contradictions and, later on, to give the necessary aid for strengthening and improving work and for overcoming all of them. In this direction, despite positive results, there are still many gaps, the need for a systematic and continuing control is not thoroughly understood. Some people believe that control should be carried out solely where it appears that work does not progress well. The purpose of the control is not to catch people making mistakes or to collect material so as to make them admit responsibility; on the contrary, its purpose is to help tasks to be properly fulfilled and on a timely basis. On this occasion, it is suitable to stress that the monitoring of work must be carried out everywhere even where it seems that there are no worries, because, as practice shows, everywhere there is work there also emerge problems and there are weaknesses, especially if we take into consideration the fact that the control aims not only at discovering and putting weaknesses right, but also at knowing and at generalizing positive experience.

In connection with the organization of control for the purpose of execution, some party committees, party bureaus and basic party organizations, relying on a pre-established plan, are activating their members, the communists and various cadres. It is important to improve the quality of these monitoring activities, in order to see how the tasks have been implemented on the whole and by all, and also separately and individually. This increases both collective and personal responsibility. It is the duty of everyone in the post where he is to struggle for implementing the party line and regulations; all must monitor and ask for an accounting.

The collegial work in making decisions and establishing tasks and the organized collective work for their implementation and fulfillment not only do not weaken, but, on the contrary, encourage and develop the feelings of personal responsibility, initiative and the independent action of the communists, of commands and staffs, of cadres and of the masses of the army men. "The correct method of work and reliable guidance of the party," Comrade Eaver Hoxha stresses, "allows commanders and commissars and all officers and men not to act as robots in the implementation of decisions and in the achievement of success; but, acting as true revolutionaries, within the general line of the party and with a steel-like discipline and willpower, they must overcome any obstacle that stands before them with quick and skilful initiative and with responsibility" (Eaver Hoxha, *Works*, Volume 31, p 378).

Work practice shows that, where an extensive ideological, political and military work is done, where the party guidelines, directives and decisions, as well as laws, regulations and orders of the commands, are correctly understood, and where things penetrate deeply in the hearts, there is no slowness and waiting for everything to be said and dictated from above. But, all act with initiative and responsibility for the implementation of the tasks and for the solution of the problems.

Positive examples in examining and solving tasks with initiative are to be found in all military departments and units. Nevertheless, there are cases of slowness and of waiting to receive directives, orders and so forth for everything. The analyses that have been carried out show that behind these manifestations stands, among other things, the lack of courage to take responsibility, a fact that prevents certain cadres and communists from detaching themselves easily from the frames of triteness and schematism, so that, for everything they want codifications and regulations where things are written down to the smallest details. In these circumstances, the duty of the party organs, party organizations and commands is to educate, encourage and assist such communists and cadres not to be merely mechanical executors. An important role in this regard is played by the dissemination of the revolutionary initiative and of the action for applying the people's military art in a creative manner as well as any task that has been entrusted.

Initiative and self-action in the army are of great importance for implementing the tasks; as a matter of fact, it is in the army more than anywhere else that, when dealing with problems and in special moments, initiative and self-action assume a decisive importance for determining immediately, rapidly and correctly what should be done and to take immediate measures for execution. The army commands and cadres, according to their powers and responsibilities, decide on operations, give orders and directives and demand that they be executed. The situation requires that, sometimes, the action should take place and that only afterwards it should be reported to the collegial organ which judges the action taken and the correctness of the orders given for the execution of the action. This is important and should be thoroughly understood; and, the tendency of some well trained cadres who, for everything, even for matters in their competency or for situations for which circumstances dictate that they act with initiative, wait for the matters to be decided upon first at the party meeting and, afterwards, to be executed--must be fought.

Of course, it is of as much importance for the character of the initiative and of action to be thoroughly understood, so that both will be undertaken in conformity with the party guidelines and directives, with the state laws and regulations and with the decisions of the party organs and organizations, and will serve for their implementation. And, this is achieved when all that we mentioned above are thoroughly understood and assimilated politically and ideologically.

Something else dealing with the execution of orders given by commands and cadres deserves to be fully clarified here. Each cadre and soldier of the different military structures has the right and duty to make proposals and observations about work and about people; as a matter of fact, even to make suggestions about

the orders and activities of the cadres when he thinks that they are not correct, but, this should always be done at the proper place, at the meeting, during the work analyses or when the issue is presented for discussions, but never when the combat order has been given. This matter must be treated very carefully, because, both the overevaluation of the sole direction and the overevaluation of democracy are with negative consequences for their organization and force, everywhere, and more so in the army. Therefore, it is required that all the people, the party organizations, the commands and the troops of the structure struggle mercilessly both against conformist attitudes and stereotype activities and against liberal attitudes, thoroughly understanding the party directives and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings.

/Collegial work is properly executed when the line of the masses is correctly handled and implemented. Collegiality relies on the Marxist-Leninist principle of the decisive role of the masses in the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland. The masses and their collective experience are the main and most important source of true knowledge in every field of life, therefore, also in the field of the military life. Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the Seventh Party Congress: "At every period of its life, the party has fought together with the people to solve every problem and to execute every task" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Workers Party," p 114).

In their work, the party organs and organizations in the army are showing greater concern for the implementation of the line of the masses, as for any other thing. The need for enlisting the thought of the mass of the army men is being felt more and more and the communists and cadres are nearer to their men. In the various military units, under the leadership of the party organizations, the commands are doing a more attentive work with the masses of men and cadres for the examination of the training program. As a result of these discussions, not only have the programs been qualitatively improved, but also some conservation concepts, which some staff cadres had in regard to the skills of soldiers, were broken. They used to say: "Soldiers are not in a position to discuss and to give correct ideas, because, they know just so much." As a matter of fact, they believe that, even if they had made a proposal, "they would have been led by the narrow personal interest," because, the drafting of the program is the work of the staff specialists and not of soldiers" and so forth. However, practice has shown the contrary. Soldiers have made and are making very correct proposals for revolutionizing and intensifying military training.

Nevertheless, much remains to be done in this field. We stress this, because, certain military departments and units still do not carry out an organized work for enlisting the thought of the masses. It happens, sometimes, that the cadres go to the masses of soldiers in a formal manner, for enlisting their thoughts, saying: "You comrades give us, too, some good ideas about these plans or programs which we have drafted." Meetings are held in military working collectives, but the reports, here and there, are filled with general slogans and moral teachings; and, sometimes, no account is given, or very little is given; there is no self-criticism. Of course, such activities do not encourage the creative thinking of the masses. The party teaches us that we should never underestimate the masses; on the contrary, we must work with them, educate them and train and make them conscientious, because, only by elevating the masses to

the level of the political understanding of responsibility and of tasks will their role and active participation increase in all the different problems concerning the country and the defense.

The positive example given by cadres in fulfilling the tasks, together with the masses, plays a great role in strengthening the relationship between cadres and the mass of soldiers. In this direction, it is worth evaluating the example of those cadres of commands and staffs who go to the base not only to monitor and see what is done right and what is done wrong, but also to work with them, train themselves and live together with the cadres and soldiers of the base; while, in regard to solving the problems that arise, they organize their work in a practical manner, putting in motion the collegial thought and activity of the troops. This practice has resulted in the strengthening of order and discipline and in the implementing of the training program with much higher indicators.

All the work forms for implementing the line of the masses are also used in the army, such as, the discussions on the weekly plan for political and military training; the periodic analyses of the implementation of the tasks in small units, units, staffs, and in the accountability meetings of the commands, basic party organizations and forums; and debates and discussions and so forth: which all directly help to activate soldiers and cadres in their discussions and in solving the problems. It is essential that we further revolutionize all these forms and cleanse them from the manifestations of formalism and bureaucracy and make them as effective as possible in order to improve the role of the participation of the masses in the implementation of the tasks of political and military training.

"The problems of the management and organization of work in our socialist system," Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Seventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee, "are not and cannot be the monopoly of some trained people or persons who are in posts of leadership and in the administration... Therefore, the issue of the assimilation of the art of management by the large working masses, as Lenin used to say, is not a matter of desire; on the contrary, it is an objective necessity which stems from the nature of our socialist, socio-economic system.

The implementation of the principle of collegial leadership is of great principled and practical importance in the army, as in all other sectors. The collegial work strengthens the unity of thought and action and the feeling of collective and individual responsibility for fulfilling the tasks on the basis of the line set by the party. Of particular importance in collegial work are: the command and thorough knowledge of the situation; the close relationship of the party organs and organizations with the life and vigorous work of the troops of all structures of the defense; and the struggle for the practical implementation of the tasks and decisions. The duty of the party committees in military units is to study the experience acquired, to generalize the positive example and to take measures so as to improve and continually strengthen the collegial work which has a special value for implementing the tasks of political and combat training.

9150

CSO: 2100

POOR RESULTS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY DEPLORED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Ylvi Basha and Reshat Konci: "For a Radical Change in the Learning of Foreign Languages"]

[Text]: At the present time, the fulfillment of objectives in production, construction and national defense depends largely on the development of the technical and scientific revolution. To intensify and to raise the level of scientific research constantly, it is necessary that cadres, specialists and workers make a systematic identification and study of contemporary science and technology. "An important condition for this," stressed the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, "is the mastery of foreign languages, for which the specialists themselves should increase their efforts in various ways and forms. But the complete solution of this problem should be sought in the radical change of our school system, which continues to have weaknesses in this direction." By mastering foreign languages, our students likewise have the ability to become more familiar with the various anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian views published in the various bourgeois and revisionist publications, and to expose and combat these views better with scientific arguments.

Ours is a small country and it is impossible to translate all necessary literature which circulates in the world today. This reason alone has stimulated the efforts of quite a few specialists to study foreign languages. Based on the demands of the times and on need and desire for them, the opening of certain foreign language training courses has been organized in all districts of the country. However, results to date are unsatisfactory, indicating that individual study as well as that organized through courses is not being done properly. The number of those who read foreign language technical and scientific literature at the district libraries and those of enterprises or institutions is still small. The intensive learning of foreign languages is not only a problem for those students who are pursuing their studies in these branches, but for all students who are attending the university or other schools of higher learning. What are the causes of the inadequacies in this field? There are numerous factors which have influenced and are having an influence in various ways, the primary and decisive one of which is the teacher, his scientific and

methodical training and his organization of the teaching process. Noted among certain teachers is an unsatisfactory level of practical mastery of the language, an influence of negative traditions with passive methods of instruction, and procedures and work forms which do not give precedence to the functional aspect and practical application of the language. The solidifying means and technical media which our schools now possess are not being used properly by some teachers. This occurs because these teachers themselves do not have a very good grasp of the subject they are presenting. To overcome the shortcomings which are apparent in this regard, the system of teacher qualification and self qualification needs to be improved continually. The further improvement of all work at the Faculty of History and Philosophy for the training of new foreign language instructors is just as important.

Those who attend high school and college study a foreign language for 8 to 10 years in a row. Such a lengthy period is fully adequate and it is fully possible for each pupil and student to assimilate it well. If this objective is not fully achieved or is achieved at an unsatisfactory level, it is also because of the underestimation of foreign language training. Quite a few students fail to make a serious effort and do not study systematically, while school principals and deans occasionally view these subjects with the eye of a step-mother.

To secure the conditions necessary for learning foreign languages, besides training hundreds of specialized cadres, all of the programs and textbooks have been compiled, the material and training base has been strengthened, etc. In the past few years, steps have also been taken to improve the training and educational process, purging it of triteness and standardization in structuring classroom time, and sparking the interest of pupils and students in the foreign language. Despite these achievements, it is obvious that backwardness exists in the theoretical application of the scientific basis of teaching foreign languages from the demands of the times. The new active methods have not been introduced properly into the teaching process and experimental work and the dissemination of advanced experience have not been organized for this purpose.

The main goal of learning foreign languages in school is the practical mastery of them. To achieve this goal, the formation of abilities and expressions of the major types of literary activity (speaking, listening, reading and writing), relinquishing the scholastic study of the logical and grammatical system of the language, which is often reduced to the teaching of grammar rules, isolated sentences out of context, linguistic situations, etc., demands special attention and care. On the basis of studies and experiments, it seems necessary to formulate the quantity and quality requirements for speaking ability precisely and to treat the problem of checking and evaluating these expressions according to scientific criteria.

The new goals associated with the teaching of foreign languages are taking shape in the new programs and textbooks which are being compiled, as well as in the supplemental teaching media for all categories of schools. In the compilation of the new textbooks, efforts are being made to have them contain that lexical and grammatical material which is essential for the practical application of the major types of speaking activity, communication exercises and active systems. The formation of stable expressions of reading, speaking and writing requires that the systematic repetition of lexical material, speech models and grammatical structures be accomplished in these textbooks.

The further improvement of the teaching and the learning of foreign languages demands a further intensification of our efforts and research in the field of improving the methods of teaching and the most rational organization of the teaching process and the treatment of theoretical problems on a more scientific basis. For this purpose, the systematic generalization of our original experience in teaching foreign languages must be accomplished in a more organized manner. We may also select from world experience any material of an educational and training value, rational and acceptable procedures and methods, but in this case we will arrange them with such content and structure that our goals will be achieved.

5658

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

FINNISH AMBASSADOR RECEIVED--Minister of foreign affairs, Nesti Nase, received Olli Oleg Bergman, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on 12 January in connection with the forthcoming presentation of credentials to Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Text] [AU122058 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 12 Jan 81]

CSO: 2100

CPCZ WEEKLY ANALYZES REAGAN FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 48, 26 Nov 80 pp 8, 9

[Article by Jaromir Sedlak: "Washington's New Crossroads"]

[Text] In the United States it is not often that a president does not get reelected for a second four-year term, unless he himself withdraws his candidacy, as did L. Johnson in 1968. The last time it happened was in 1932 in the case of H. Hoover, due to a deep cyclical crisis affecting the capitalist world at that time. Now it has happened again, to J. Carter, and much is now said and written about why it has happened, what would have been the results of the elections "if"..., to what extent does this indicate a wider trend in view of the results of the concurrent elections to the U.S. Senate, where the conservatives have consolidated their positions, etc.

The world public, however, is focusing more and more attention on the question of the foreign policy of the newly elected President R. Reagan and his government, his assistants and advisors, supported by a Senate with a Republican majority (for the first time since 1952)--especially since Reagan had made many pungent statements. In fact, it serves a purpose to analyze the views expressed not only by Reagan himself but also by the people around him, among whom are evident, to be sure, certain differences of opinion and interest. While serving as governor of California, Reagan proved that he preferred to delegate responsibility to the people around him, leaving for his decision only questions he considered the most important. Although at the Republican convention in July 1980 he referred to President F. D. Roosevelt and his style of work, he will most probably follow D. Eisenhower who, for instance, left foreign policy decisions entirely to J. F. Dulles of infamous memory. Certain historians alleged that by doing this Eisenhower could afford to devote more time to golf.

Secondly, when speculating about the methods of the future foreign policy it may be correct to consider the fact that the views held by Reagan and the people surrounding him evolved in a convoluted way during the election campaign, in accordance, for example, with the reaction of potential voters and with the polemics of Carter's camp. The U.S. daily INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE of 5 October 1980 published an article entitled "Carter and Reagan Coming Closer In Their Foreign Policy Positions." It states: "Reagan's critical approach to the SALT negotiations has shown certain changes. He still thinks that the SALT II agreement shows many weak points, but now he emphasizes his support for the entire SALT process. This shift was motivated by a criticism of his attitudes and by pre-election considerations." Reagan's landslide victory was the result of such tactical shifts and therefore, he was not elected exclusively by the vote of the extreme right. This fact should be reflected also in his future policies.

Another circumstance that will play a role here is the fact that as president, Reagan will no longer be in the position of a candidate for the White House focusing on his opponent's weaknesses, but rather in the position of a man with tremendous responsibility who must strive sooner or later to proceed from the realities of the contemporary world, from options available to him, and not from pious desires or nostalgic memories. The above-mentioned article commented: "It is a fact that every incoming U.S. president has a basic obligation to outline foreign policy objectives that are roughly identical to those elaborated by his predecessor. He simply cannot throw aside the preceding policies, but must build on them. In fact, the key question is how the new president intends to implement the policies articulated prior to his inauguration, and which priorities will he adopt." This was confirmed soon after the election by E. Meese, the director of the executive committee appointed by Reagan, which will act until the new government replaces the Carter administration in January 1981.

It is not incidental that in his address at the occasion of the 63rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution N. Tikhonov expressed a hope that the new U.S. Government will approach world problems realistically, as well as a wish that the U.S.-USSR relations develop on the principles of peaceful coexistence. He expressed a hope that the new government in the White House will adopt a "constructive attitude" toward US-USSR relations. N. Tikhonov further stressed that "the conditions of the U.S.-USSR relations powerfully affect the whole international situation."

Lessons from the Past Era

The new team that will come to the White House in January should learn from the mistakes and misadventures of its current residents--and naturally, draw correct conclusions. For instance, during his "shift to the right" Carter declared in January 1980 an embargo on the sale of grain (17 million tons) to the USSR. The London daily THE ECONOMIST published on 1 November 1980 an article from which it follows that from January to the end of June 1980 the USSR purchased grain not only in Argentina (almost 5 million tons), but also in Australia (3 million tons), Canada, in the European Economic Community countries, etc. The author of the article asks: "Is the embargo working at all?" He must admit that this year it fundamentally failed.

Washington's efforts to impose an embargo on exports of advanced technology to the USSR also met this year with conspicuous failure. The N.Y. TIMES wrote on 5 October 1980: "The Klocker Gruppe Company of West Germany signed a contract to build an aluminum processing plant in Sayanogorsk, USSR. The French concern Creusot-Loire concluded another contract from the construction of steel mills in Lipetsk in the USSR. Both contracts, which were announced last month, would hardly be noteworthy were it not for the fact that at the beginning of this year the Aluminium Company of America abandoned the Sayanogorsk project, and another U.S. company, the Armco Steel Corporation, gave up the Lipetsk project." Other countries, such as Japan, are now demonstrating increased interest in exports to the USSR.

Would it not be wise for the team coming into the White House to carefully consider these facts? After all, even during the election campaign Reagan criticized Carter's embargo policy, and as for the grain sale, he indicated that his approach would be different.

At the same time, the economic embargo policy has caused considerable harm to the peaceful coexistence of such countries as the United States and the USSR. It absolutely contradicts the so-called Basket Two of the Helsinki Final Act, whose signatories are

meeting at the Madrid Conference. In 1975 President G. Ford, a member of Reagan's own party and now one of his foreign policy advisors, signed the Helsinki Final Act on behalf of the USA.

Military Competition and Catching-Up

Even more significant than the development of economic relations, the material base for detente is deceleration of the spiral of hectic arms race—practical steps on a path leading not only to "arms control," but directly to disarmament. Even under Carter the situation greatly deteriorated precisely in this area. Reagan et al voiced many ideas about the problems of armaments, which are, to put it mildly, rather astonishing. In particular, before August 1980 he called for outright U.S. superiority over the USSR in military areas, including the area of strategic nuclear weapons; he ridiculed the idea of maintaining the existing parity, etc. He left it up to the "experts," but he specified ways of achieving such superiority. The U.S. publication U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT published in October 1980 an interview with one of Reagan's experts, General D. Graham (ret.), who declared: "We should not be concerned with just any kind of superiority, but with superiority in areas of such technology where we may be able to overtake the Soviets considerably--such as, for instance, the area of military systems in space." It should be added that the same publication presented at the same time the views of W. Slocombe, a representative of the Pentagon, who said that such superiority "is neither necessary nor feasible... because the USSR would simply take steps to prevent it." W. Slocombe certainly is not mistaken about that.

Reagan and his advisors, of course, resorted recently to more cautious but also less explicit pronouncements—which should be a welcome sign, so long as it does not mean mere words. Instead of "superiority" he speaks of "certain safety reserves" which the United States should have, etc. And if before the conclusion of the election campaign Carter demanded a 4 to 5 percent increase in U.S. military spending, in recent years Reagan and some of the individuals around him dealt with this question rather evasively, although previously they had demanded, for instance, a 7 percent increase, and some of them even more.

Shortly before the election one of Reagan's influential foreign policy advisors, Van Cleave, came up, obviously for tactical reasons, with demagogical allegations that, in view of the purported Soviet superiority in the military area, the new U.S. President was in reality thinking not so much of U.S. superiority as merely of "balancing the USSR advantage." That is an old tune of bourgeois propaganda even outside of the United States although on several occasions L.I. Brezhnev himself denied any such advantage, stressing that the USSR does not seek superiority, only a balance of military forces, and that it wants to negotiate disarmament on the basis of parity and the mutual security of both countries. It should be mentioned here that once in a while serious analyses of problems related to "superiority" have appeared in the Western bourgeois press. We hope that they reach the ear of Reagan's advisors, and we hope that their logic will prevail over the pressures exerted by the U.S. military industrial complex and some U.S. allies. Of course, it would not be wise to bet on realism alone; realism must be supported by the pressure of world public opinion attuned to peace, and that pressure must be felt in Washington more than ever before, and it must affect all negotiations on disarmament that are either under way or that may be launched in the future.

At present, for instance, the United States and the USSR are negotiating about nuclear arms in Europe. Their talks may be successful if SALT II is ratified and thus, if the preconditions for SALT III are created. And it is precisely SALT II of which Reagan and his people had originally spoken disparagingly, although recently they have changed their tone substantially. Now they are already talking about an "improved" agreement, or about the possibility of beginning direct negotiations concerning SALT III without ratifying SALT II,

If we speak of Reagan's attitude to the arms race in general and the SALT process in particular, we cannot ignore the fact that basically all the West European allies of the United States are pressing for the ratification of SALT II and voicing their fears of an unbridled, uncontrolled arms race in the area of strategic offensive and defensive nuclear weapons. The already quoted ECONOMIST of 8 November 1980 recommends that in his review of the SALT process Reagan take into consideration world public opinion, and in particular, the opinion of "West Europe."

The allies of the United States will be reluctant to abandon not only the SALT process, but detente in general. The weekly US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT of 3 November 1980 states: "Any attempt on Reagan's part to reject detente and adopt a policy of confrontation with the USSR would meet with the resistance of the Europeans." After all, Carter himself learned this the hard way, once relations with the USSR began deteriorating, especially since January 1980. The ECONOMIST adds: "If the United States tries again to use a big stick, then it risks that an even bigger stick will hit her," referring to U.S. economic relations with West Europe.

Anxieties of the Developing World

In the past Reagan uttered many forceful statements about U.S. preparation and determination to use military force in promoting imperialist and neocolonialist goals in the developing world. Moreover, he made it clear that during its aggression in Vietnam the United States was carrying on "a noble mission." Even the U.S. media consider that statement possible psychological preparation for military interventions in the developing world. It is no coincidence that after the election of the new U.S. president, world press agencies noted a perplexed atmosphere among the representatives of numerous developing countries in the United Nations in New York and in the UN apparatus they sensed fears about future U.S. attitudes toward that worldwide organization.

It is generally anticipated, for instance, that Israel will be favored by Washington even more than during Carter's administration. After his election Reagan declared at a press conference that he regarded the PLO as "terrorist." Nevertheless, it cannot escape one's attention that some of Reagan's closest associates, who in all probability will be appointed to his cabinet or to other prominent posts, including perhaps the Department of State--for example, W. Simon and G. Schulz--are closely connected not only with U.S. oil monopolies (whose influence is enormous) but also with oil magnates and producers in Saudi Arabia and other countries. Excessive support for Israeli expansionism antagonizes the Arab world and will unavoidably meet with counter pressures even from West Europe and Japan because oil supplied from the Middle East represents an economic "life-or-death" question for those countries; 60 to 70 percent of their imports of this raw material come from the Middle East which also is a very important market for their exports (as well as for exports from the USSR).

The team coming into the White House has not made any secret of its intention that the United States will render much more overt support to various reactionary dictatorial bourgeois regimes in the future. Many of them are already saluting and celebrating Reagan's victory in the election, as evident, for instance, from the congratulations cabled by the Chilean dictator, Pinochet. With regard to the ultra-reactionary dictators, Reagan evidently does not intend to have the question of human rights enter into his relations with them and he does not plan to criticize them, however mildly, as Carter used to. In the election campaign Reagan expressed his regret that the United States had abandoned in hard times such friends as Somoza of Nicaragua or the shah of Iran. At the same time he urged a more stringent policy toward Cuba. Shortly before the elections he softened those attitudes to some extent.

The U.S. weekly TIME of 3 November 1980 says that Reagan will "exploit questions of human rights as a propaganda tool against the communist countries, but will ignore the conduct of the friends of the United States even if their regimes are dictatorial."

Evidently, there should be no doubt that Washington will go on trying to exploit the question of human rights against the socialist countries, for example, at the Madrid conference of the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act. Of course, the coming weeks and months will show how far Washington will pursue its unconstructive attitudes at that conference.

Obviously, the new U.S. Government will carry on the current U.S. policy regarding the People's Republic of China, although in the past Reagan stated on several occasions that he wanted to support Taiwan and possibly also to consolidate its position. Naturally, this infuriated Peking which had also been angered by Carter for his granting diplomatic status to Taiwan's representatives in the United States and to the U.S. representative in Taiwan. Nevertheless, the anti-Soviet orientation of their policies, for example, brings the ruling circles of both countries closer together and thus, in the end the Chinese leaders come to terms with some of Reagan's statements; on 6 November 1980, i.e., immediately after the elections, the official Chinese journal RENMIN RIBAO wrote that the new U.S. president is in fact a political moderate who had already ceased calling for a renewal of official contacts with Taiwan and was not supporting a close alliance with China. The same journal writes further that during the election campaign Reagan had corrected many of his conservative standpoints, and it described him as an "adaptable and flexible pragmatist." Naturally, the journal was referring to his PRC policy, not to his policies in general. This issue, however, has some other facets. It is hardly coincidental that the weekly ECONOMIST offered the following advice on 8 November 1980: "a stronger, de-Maoized China will some day pose the same problem for the West as she is now posing for the USSR. Obligations to the PRC should not go beyond a certain limit so as not to prevent improvement in relations with the USSR some time in the 1990's."

Crossroads and Dead-End Streets

From everything that has been said above it follows that Reagan and his government will flounder, as had Carter's administration, in numerous conflicts not so much of a personal nature as of an objective character due to the United States' current position in the world, to the interests and contradictions of the United States and world capitalism, and to pressures of the forces opposing the United States. At this point the United States has passed one crossroads: on 4 November 1980 about 25 percent of all the registered voters elected Reagan, while almost 50 percent failed to vote at all. When Kennedy saw in 1960 that only 63 percent of the registered voters

had cast their ballot, he immediately appointed a governmental commission to study the reasons of that phenomenon. Since then the situation has deteriorated even further in terms of participation in elections. However, that no longer arouses anyone and the bourgeois U.S. propaganda continues to portray the United States as a model of democracy.

Thus, Washington now stands at a new, very crucial crossroads. Which path will the new team in the White House choose? One thing is certain: if it follows the path of cold war, it will face many fundamental dilemmas, for instance: How will it launch its policies from a position of strength, if it is impossible to achieve the necessary military superiority? And furthermore, under current conditions further extensive expansion of armaments has ceased acting as a certain stimulant for economic revitalization and higher employment, as it once did. Now it will prevent the fulfillment of many pre-election pledges concerning, for instance, inflation, that not only Reagan, but also the new members of the U.S. Congress have made.

How can Washington force the entire West to follow it blindly when the balance of power, for instance, in the economic and scientific-technological areas, has significantly changed to the benefit of West Europe and Japan which have overtaken the United States even in such a vital area of the scientific-technological revolution as microelectronics, and when the competition between the United States and West European and Japanese monopolies is increasing in its ferocity, etc.?

How can Washington apply military force and threats of force to a greater extent against the progressive developing countries that do not intend to retreat before U.S. dictation, since experience, for example, in the war in Indochina, has shown that the very best weapons are powerless against the enthusiasm and patriotism of the people who can rely, moreover, on the support of the USSR and its allies, and when the developments, for instance, in Iran, have shown the problems and limits of threats or of actual application of military force?

How can Washington keep alive the ultrareactionary bourgeois or semifeudal regimes when their very existence leads to an unprecedented upsurge of the opposition and even of outright revolutionary forces in a given country, as demonstrated by the development, for instance, in Nicaragua and Iran, and when it leads to international isolation, as shown in the case of Chile, etc.?

One may learn from history. The Republicans were swept into the White House on the crest of swashbuckling, cold war rhetoric when their candidate, General D. Eisenhower, was elected president in 1952. He was associated with J. F. Dulles as the secretary of state, while Dulles' brother was made the head of the CIA. Yet it was precisely Eisenhower who was forced to accept cessation of U.S. military actions in Korea. R. Nixon, already then a notorious anticommunist who served as Eisenhower's vice-president, was himself elected president in 1969 [sic]. In the end he was glad to be able to drag the United States out of the war in Indochina. It was he who signed the SALT I agreement. True, this year he published a book, "The Real War," in which he renounces some of his more realistic approaches during the days of his presidency. Nevertheless, in his book he reaches the conclusion that U.S.-USSR detente is imperative even though it must be allegedly "correctly understood." It is axiomatic that ambitions can grow to enormous proportions, but the issue in question is what are the "conditions" and whether one can win over to adventurism even one's closest allies who are not interested in becoming a battleground for a local nuclear war, or in being dragged into a new cold war. After all, they, too, realize that foreign policy

cannot be based on memories of past glories or on illusions about superiority which one neither possesses nor can achieve, even if occasionally "the traditions of the dead, like a nightmare, oppress the minds of the living," as Karl Marx said.

One would like to hope that sanity and realism will prevail even in the U.S. capital city on the Potomac, whose waters—like the waters of many other rivers and lakes on our planet—demand radical measures, as recommended by U.S. environmentalists as well. They call for steps that will be very, very expensive—if truly effective ecological measures are to be initiated—and for which funds are often lacking because they have been swallowed by senseless armaments.

Without detente and disarmament it is impossible, in fact, to resolve in a more liberal way any of mankind's global problems which plague the United States and its allies as they do the rest of the world. It is not nuclear war alone that endangers human civilization in the long run. A large group of U.S. scientists prepared and submitted to Carter in the summer of 1980 a comprehensive study of the situation of the world in the year 2000, if current trends they had analyzed should continue. They arrived at some depressing conclusions. However, the fact is encouraging that they urgently recommended that U.S. presidents pay attention to global problems and not to armaments. Furthermore, they recommended the close international cooperation of all countries, including the USSR and its allies, in the solution of the current, immensely relevant problems of our planet.

9004

CSO: 2400

REPORT ON ONGOING ASSESSMENT OF NOMENCLATURA CADRES

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 24, 17 Nov 80 pp 18-21

[Article by Jan Papp, department deputy director, CPCZ Central Committee: "Complex Evaluation of Classified Cadres."]

[Text] Our party has always linked the struggle for practical application of its policy with the concern for qualified, politically aware, professionally competent cadres, devoted to the interests of the working class. It regards its work with cadres as the most important element of the entire organizing function—the key question of management. Only persons—as emphasized in the conclusions adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee at its 11th session—can breathe life into every resolution and each of our goals.

In this key sector of the party activity much has been accomplished in our entire socialist society, especially in the last decade. Our party has consistently and creatively applied the Leninist principles of cadre work. From the ranks of the workers in particular, from the cooperative farmers and other classes of our people, it raised and trained a good number of mature, class conscious, professionally competent and devoted workers at all levels of our society. It has stressed that the management functions in the party, state and economic organs and organizations must be held by qualified people and that the Leninist concept of qualification as a unity of political and professional capabilities must be applied consistently.

Our experiences have convinced us that any infringement on these tested principles and lack of complex evaluation of people from the viewpoint of political activism, professional competence, class views and moral attributes are paid for dearly. Particularly in this key sector of the party work we must always keep in mind the lesson learned in the critical years when the right, allied with the counterrevolutionary forces and using various means, among them even the avenue of enterprise activity representing the basis of the society. The conditions were therefore created even before 1968, when the political preparation of the cadres for economic functions was gradually neglected and ceased to be respected as the indispensable part of qualifications. The right was well aware that undermining and ultimate abandoning of Leninist principles of cadre policy meant disarming our party and taking away its tool for carrying out its leadership role and its influence on economic and social development.

Work with the cadres is becoming increasingly prominent as the important irreplaceable component of the leadership role of the party as it deals with all basic tasks of the socialist development both at the present time and in a long-range perspective.

These problems therefore always occupy an important place at every session of the CPCZ Central Committee and its organs. These questions are also treated, with adherence to Leninist principles, in the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on cadre and personnel work from 1970 and by the rules for carrying out complex evaluation of cadres in the state economic administration and of workers in the system of the public organizations; they were approved by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on 28 January 1972 and amended by the resolution of 2 December 1977. These and other resolutions of the party Central Committee generalized the experience of many years from the cadre work of the party and also from the findings of the fraternal CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties. They contain a specific guide for procedures to be followed by the party organs and organizations, and the state and economic administrations, in the selection, evaluation and preparation of cadres, including cadre reserves, in the interest of the complex management of all tasks of the development of our socialist society.

The adherence to principles and the political sensitivity with which the leadership of our party, headed by Comrade G. Husak, has approached the cadre work are reflected, for example, also in the stability of the cadres which occurred in the seventies. This is a very important factor in responsible and smooth fulfillment of the tasks of economic and social development. Firm commitments were made and full support and trust given to the people who are honorably discharging the duties of the posts to which they were appointed, who are not content with the achieved status, who are surmounting obstacles and shortcomings, who are not avoiding necessary risks, who know how to win the workers to support the party policy, and set an example by their work, and devotion to work, and who care for their political and professional growth.

It is indisputable that the managerial personnel to a considerable degree deserve credit for the accomplishments achieved by workers under the leadership of our party during the years of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. These achievements are not small. As evident from the assessment made by the CPCZ Central Committee at the 18th session, there are few economically developed countries where in the second half of the 70s the national income increased by 21-22 percent, the industrial production by 25 percent, the volume of construction by 28 percent and the intensity of agricultural production by 10 percent, as in Czechoslovakia. Only one who is prejudiced against socialism, or looks through rose-colored glasses at the economic growth in today's world, does not acknowledge or makes light of our accomplishments of the past 5 years. And we achieved them under more complicated conditions than were assumed at the beginning of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Our rising economic and social development is also associated with a number of problems and shortcomings. Some are objective in nature and follow from the conditions in the development of the world economy, especially in the markets of raw materials, fuels, energy and foodstuffs, and from their impact on our economic development. The great majority of the problems and shortcomings which stand in our way are of a subjective nature, however, and at many places of work they are caused by the low level of managerial work and inconsistent observance of the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the CSSR Government. The Central Committee of our party is not hiding or making light of these problems and shortcomings. Particularly at its

11th, 15th and 18th sessions it subjected the shortcomings of a subjective nature to a critique, and on the basis of the analysis of the situation pointed out solutions and ways to overcome them.

The needs of the present and future management outlined in the conclusions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee place urgent demand on party-mindedness in the work of key personnel in managerial links and on the growth of their responsibility for implementation of the party line under the conditions in which they work and act. A consistent political approach to the fulfillment of the tasks, application of high responsibility and discipline in everyday work, intolerance of shortcomings in realization of party resolutions, all must be linked more closely to the level of management and the quality of work of the cadres in the pertinent sectors, and to the strength of their example in workers' collectives during creative realization of the conclusions of the 15th congress of the party on increased effectiveness of public production and quality of work as the only way to our successful economic and social growth. Comrade G. Husak expressed the need for a higher level of cadre policy in the Central Committee Presidium Report at the 11th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee in these words: "Production and the entire society are undergoing such deep changes that we cannot be content with the status quo, especially in the area of cadres. We increasingly need individuals who possess high political awareness combined with moral attributes and good professional training; people who are devoted to socialism and have knowledge that allows them to solve problems related to the development of economy and culture; people who have a feel for new, creative approaches and who familiarize themselves and apply modern methods of management."

This binding orientation of the work of the whole party and all communists increases the demands both on the quality of management at all levels and on the quality of cadres, the review of their achievements, and on the complex evaluation of cadres now in progress according to the principles set forth by the CPCZ Central Committee. The goal of the complex evaluation is to assess the performance of the managers with respect to the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 15th Congress and the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan; and to utilize the results for better preparation of cadres, better placement of individuals and safeguarding of the tasks of the five-year plan by cadre placements. That is, to increase the effectiveness and quality of work of the cadres in all management links, to achieve a decisive shift in thinking, acting and mode of operation in order to meet the growing demands placed by the facts of life on the individual levels of management. Furthermore, to raise the ability (of cadres) to recognize, analyze and deal successfully with the continuously more complex tasks of the socialist buildup in the next five-year period through particularized, consistent and objective application of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System to the conditions of the departments, production economic units, enterprises and enterprise subdivisions. In particular, all specific managerial, planning, organizational and mass political work, and the activity of all collectives and individuals in the production and nonproduction sphere must support the enforcement of efficiency and work quality. Economy, one of the main principles of the socialist management, must be universal in every branch, sector, work collective and place of work to the benefit of the general public interest and thus of the specific local needs as well. According to the adopted principles the complex evaluation of classified cadres of the party organs will be carried out in two stages. The first stage--in the second half of this year--covers complex evaluation of the administration of the ministries, general and technical directors of production economic units, directors of enterprises, and their deputies and plant directors. It

is so planned that the complex evaluation of technical directors of production economic units and of deputies of enterprise directors might be accomplished in proper sequence in the first half of 1981. The second stage--in 1981--will cover the complex evaluation of other classified cadres of the party organs in the state and economic sphere and in other sectors of public life. Evaluation of cadres is carried out under the direction of the party organs on the basis of the approved classification. It is prepared for the party organ by a responsible manager--the evaluator who judges the accomplishments of the person rated and at the same time formulates the requirements for successful handling of new tasks.

The Central Committee of the Party regards comradely talk with the rated person in the presidium, secretariat or with the secretary of the pertinent party organ as a significant phase of the complex evaluation. In this open and objective dialogue every rated worker should have the opportunity to inform the party organ of what is going well in his work, what his problems and difficulties are, and how he plans to solve them in the future in the interest of consistent fulfillment of the tasks. He should also learn, however, what the party and society expect from him, where he needs to apply himself more, what to improve and whether on the basis of achieved accomplishments he has met the criteria for holding his post or under what conditions he may continue to hold it; or whether in the interest of society and of himself it may not be advisable to use his abilities in another field. Every discussion with the rated individual must end with a specific conclusion which will formulate the main tasks for the future and his further personal growth. This sensitive political approach requires that the responsible managers-evaluators prepare thorough and careful proposals of complex evaluation. The evaluation must be specific, critical and based on factual achievements of the rated person. It must consider the specifics of the places of work, the importance of the function, and the initiative and zeal with which the evaluated person meets the tasks and his duties. It essentially judges how the evaluated worker carries out the party policy in his assigned sector; with what degree of responsibility he is complying with the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and those of the lower party organs; whether he is capable of realizing creatively and defending in principle the party policy of systematically improving the management and motivating the activity of work collectives in the department, production economic unit, enterprise and plant to raise the efficiency of production and the quality of all work. Many problems in foreign trade, for example, stem from insufficient awareness of the realities which we are facing on the foreign markets on the part of quite a few in the sphere of management, often because of their own complacency. Although they talk about new terms, pay lip service to efficiency, quality and the need for accelerated technological development, in practice they act and work in the old way. They only recognize their own professional and plant standards for the results of their own work and that of the collectives which they direct. They do not care that their products have parameters which are far below those common in the world and that the products manufactured under their direction regularly realize lower yields, when measured in the terms of foreign currency, than in production units with comparable production.

Findings from the complex evaluation of classified cadres carried out to date have confirmed that the predominant majority of managers have discharged this highly political duty consistently, with high critical standards and from the party viewpoint. In their proposals presented to the appropriate party organizations they strive for complex evaluation of the work of the rated individuals. They rightly place emphasis on the content of the objectives and the meaning of evaluation; on increasing the quality and effectiveness of the work of the rated person in application of the party policy at the respective places of work. They evaluate the work

of the rated person in relation to and in conjunction with the level of work and work achievements in the organizations which they direct and the collectives they head. In principle and objectively they guide the work of the rated person to the main tasks at their places of work. The assigned tasks are specifically formulated, they are given time limits and are controllable, and they follow logically from the principles established by the Central Committee of our party for the complex evaluation of cadres. They evaluate the performance of the rated workers according to the actual achievements and guide them so that through their own work they will broadly contribute to the successful struggle for realization of the strategy line of the CPCZ aimed at high efficiency of production, at economy and at work quality, while utilizing as a whole all accessible local resources and reserves.

It is true that not all managers-evaluators have approached the evaluation of the work of their subordinates from the party standpoints and in the spirit of the principles specified by the CPCZ Central Committee for complex evaluation of classified cadres of the party organs. There are many cases when the proposed evaluations prepared and presented to the party organs are general, devoid of a critical review of the work of the rated, singling out only the positive aspects. Not enough emphasis has been placed on the conjunction of political work and technical direction, on the ability of the rated workers to work with people and motivate them by word and example to responsible and disciplined execution of the tasks. Similarly, the recommended conclusions which should form the guidelines for implementation of the party policy by the rated workers in the next 5 years are in many cases not specific enough, or lack substance and potential for control.

Any "allowances" for whatever reason, and superficial and uncritical glossing over the shortcomings and weaknesses in the work of the rated hurt the cause of the working class, and our socialist development, and are a disservice to the rated workers themselves. People naturally prefer to hear their work praised rather than criticized. This must not, however, lessen the critical atmosphere of our work; criticism as comradely assistance. It follows from the conclusions adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee at its 18th session that this is a time for criticism on the basis of the party doctrine of those managers whose mistakes and shortcomings are evident, as well as those who are not utilizing all possibilities of the growth of production and who are not displaying enough initiative and dedication to the use of local resources and potential for growth of production and work efficiency, reduction of material and other expenses per unit of production, and increase in the quality of production and the quality of products according to the growing demands in the domestic market, foreign trade and production consumption.

These are highly important political questions directly related to the level and results of the work of the responsible people and they cannot be glossed over in the complex evaluation of cadres. It is a known fact that the consumption of 7.2 tons of standard fuel per person in Czechoslovakia far exceeds the consumption level in, for example, the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain and German Democratic Republic. We have pointed out on many occasions that the per capita steel consumption in our country has reached 1 ton annually. But we are giving less thought to why we have disproportionately higher average steel consumption than industrially developed countries having a comparable structure of production to ours. As to the fixed production assets available to the workers, our country ranks among the leading countries of the world. The volume of machinery and equipment per worker in the production sphere increased considerably in the period of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, while their efficacy declined. In 1979, in centrally planned industry alone, almost

315,000 workers positions were not filled, while in many sectors any small demand on the production growth was associated with requests for capital and additional personnel authorizations. Solution of these problems cannot be the concern of the directors of political and state organs of our country alone. It must have priority in the actions and work of everybody in management, research, development, construction, and production, and in services as well.

Our party gives systematic care to the cadres and trusts them. At the same time it asks that the cadres who have received its trust account for their work to the organs and organizations of the party with awareness of their deep responsibility towards the people. It demands steadfast realization of the objectives and party resolutions, critical evaluation of the achievements, and self-critical deduction of conclusions and lessons from any shortcomings which come to light. This is a highly important and irreplaceable method of avoiding mistakes and finding a proper way for successful solving of the problems which we are encountering. "Leninism teaches us that criticism and self-criticism are irreplaceable moving forces of progress in our movement," said "Comrade G. Husak in the closing remarks at the 12th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee. "Some comrades raise the question of where and how far we can criticize. The answer is simple--at any place where shortcomings exist, from the bottom up and from the top down; anywhere when we criticize a shortcoming, abuse and nonfulfillment of the tasks and point out how to rectify them." Use of exacting criticism in evaluation of cadres is a very effective weapon in educating people and improving the methods and modes of work. At the same time scrutiny of the fulfillment of the tasks is an irreplaceable tool for proper education and the strengthening of the party and state discipline. As pointed out by V.I. Lenin "scrutiny of what in fact is being done is the basic and principal...task." Under the present conditions these Leninist theses are very pertinent to our situation.

Everywhere, and especially in the management links, it is necessary to be increasingly aware of the wisdom tested by life that "as we work today, so shall we live tomorrow." This does not mean any kind of work, or simply the magnitude of work done. It means work that is needed, work of high quality. All our directives and efforts cannot bring about the desired result unless we concentrate on raising the work quality in all sectors of our national economy, whether it be development, construction, production, final quality check, etc. This includes a thorough and well-thought-out organization of production, smooth flow of the work process, and strict observance of technological discipline. It involves economic use of raw materials and supplies, and proper regard of the manager for technology and application of technological advances in practice. It involves conscious discipline and an atmosphere of mutual demands and comradely assistance at work. From this viewpoint the managers have an unusual responsibility. They must be fully aware that, as it is evident from the conclusions of the 18th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the important element of their political and moral responsibility is to insure conciliation of the general social aspects with the partial interests of the organizations which they are heading. This is the main link in the chain which we must master at every level of management, at every place of work.

The conditions under which we are carrying out the economic and social program of our party, the tasks outlined by the 18th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the still untapped resources available in many sectors of the national economy and other areas, continue to increase the demands on our work. There has been no appearance of the general secretary of our party, Comrade G. Husak, when he did not stress the need for better quality managerial work, with no differences and exceptions, at all levels of management when he did not mention that the new situation calls for managers

possessing a combination of deep party devotion, high professional qualifications, responsibility, initiative, and the art of dealing with people and motivating them to consistent realization of the party policy and nurturing in them the sense of public responsibility for the achievements of the enterprise, plant and work collective. Experience has confirmed time after time that complex tasks cannot be accomplished by people who are not equal to them; who are complacent, content with whatever every day brings; or who are self-centered or do not respect the norms of the socialistic moral code. At the 18th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee Comrade Husak said: "We must select, train and place the cadres according to the growing demands. Old problems must be solved with sensitivity towards people, but above all with sensitivity and responsibility for the interests of the society."

Everyone writes his evaluation and earns the respect of the work collective under his direction and the recognition of the public through his own work. The conclusions adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee at its 18th Session have stressed with special insistence the need for requiring from the managers in particular that they continuously improve their managerial and organizational work, that they set an example in work and dedication to the implementation of factors intensifying economic growth and that they institute new methods and forms of work and actively solve problems of economic and social development at their respective places of work, while not neglecting the priority of public needs over the parochial and local interests. In this sense they must organize the concentrated initiative of the workers to uncover and utilize resources in production and nonproduction spheres. In this respect the complex evaluation is also of enormous importance as one of the most essential tools in the endeavors of intensified struggle for the growth of efficiency of production and work and increased productivity of our economy in general.

9562
CSO: 2400

TISCH, TOEPFER ADDRESSES TO 11TH FDGB EXECUTIVE MEETING PUBLISHED

Report on Meeting

East Berlin TRIBUNE in German 4 Nov 80 p 1

/Report by TRIBUNE: "Trade Unions With a Clear Course to the 10th SED Congress--The 11th FDGB National Executive Committee Meeting Confers--Harry Tisch: Our Competition, a Challenge to the Creative Forces of the 8.8 Million FDGB Members; Johanna Toepfer on the Ideological Tasks of the Trade Unions; Heinz Neukrantz Delivers Presidium Report"7

/Text/ The 11th Plenum of the FDGB executive committee, held last Monday in Berlin, focused on union tasks in the further preparation of the Tenth SED Congress. In his concluding address Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB executive committee, stressed the ingenious and creative work done by the working people before the Tenth Party Congress. He said: "We are setting goals for our work, which represent a challenge to the creativity of our organization's 8.8 million members and an appropriate contribution to the preparation of the party congress." Five months after the Bernau Conference of union officials, at which the labor unions responded to the convocation of the Tenth Party Congress, the chairman of the executive committee was able to state: "It is indeed an honor for the labor unions that the party of the working class described our competition 'the best for the Tenth Party Congress! Everything for the welfare of the people!' as a mass movement unprecedented in its breadth and force."

Heinz Neukrantz, member of the presidium and secretary of the executive committee, presented the report by the presidium of the executive committee to the 11th plenum. He said: "The work collectives in combines and enterprises are striving even more purposefully, with greater ingenuity and resolution in the socialist competition definitely to exceed the 1980 economic plan and turn out two additional days production in the form of available end products. At this time we may assert that the target has generally been met and, in some combines, actually exceeded." This struggle, of fundamental importance for the pursuit of the main task, has contributed a great deal to the mobilization of all capacities and reserves.

In her paper on "the ideological tasks of the labor unions in preparation of the Tenth SED Congress" Johanna Toepfer, deputy chairperson of the executive committee, expressed appreciation for the devoted work of more than 2 million honorary officials. "Their daily efforts among the members, their championship of the interests of the working people--that is the alliance with the party of the working class in action,

represents a definite advance in the confidential relationship of party and people," she said.

She continued by saying that the socialist state is the greatest political achievement of the working class, and that the labor unions would more than ever direct their efforts to strengthen it from every aspect. Politico-ideological work must therefore aim to reinforce among all union members a combative attitude, the readiness and will to action.

In this connection Johanna Toepfer emphasized the growing role of union membership life: Since the Ninth FDGB Congress an average of 40 membership meetings have taken place in each of the more than 280,000 labor union groups and 46,000 basic organizations. In September last alone 5.5 million unionists attended such meetings. Currently 150,000 schools of socialist labor teach basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge.

In his concluding address Harry Tisch had also said that the FDGB endeavored at all stages of its development fully to meet in all sectors of social life its special responsibility as the representative of the interests of the working class and all working people, as schools of socialism.

The speaker stressed that working people all over the GDR have provided an outstanding contribution to the competition result. The best proof is the good plan fulfillment of most combines and enterprises. He praised the obligations of Zeiss workers in the coming year to raise industrial goods production by 1 percent, including an additional day's output in time for the Tenth Party Congress. In the meantime collectives of the Schwarza Chemiefaser combine, the Ost Eisenhuetten combine, the Magdeburg and Erfurt housing combines as well as others have followed this example.

These were Harry Tisch's actual words "The better we, the organizers of the socialist competition, know how correctly to set the content and target of the competition, the better we cooperate in this--our wide field of operations--in the further dynamic development of the economy. That has always been the main purpose of our organization as one of the forces exercising power in the worker-and-farmer state, because only thus do we accomplish a basic task of our representation of interests for the working class and all working people."

Other speakers in the discussion were Fritz Seiffert, chairman of the Leipzig FDGB bezirk executive committee, Annelis Scheel, chairperson of the Berlin FDGB bezirk executive committee, Paul Ruhig, chairman of the central executive committee of the Instruction and Education Union, Friedhold Koehler, chairman of the Schwarzenberg Waschgeraetewerk plant executive board, Liane Schulz, chairperson of the Dresden Verpackungsmaschinenbau VEB plant executive board, and Petra Broemmer, member of the Schwedt Ptolchemische combine plant executive board. From the standpoint of their labor union collectives they emphasized the resolution to prepare the Tenth SED Congress by outstanding actions.

The executive committee confirmed the paper read and the presidium report. TRIBUNE will carry a detailed report of the discussion next Wednesday.

Tisch Concluding Address

East Berlin TRIBUNE in German 4 Nov 80 pp 3-4

/Excerpts from concluding address by Harry Tisch, chairman, FDGB National Executive Committee, to 11th meeting of that committee: "The Trade Unions Are Making Their Contribution to Preparation for the 10th Party Congress With Determination and With a High Level Activity"/

/Text/ My dear colleagues! The 11th meeting of the FDGB national executive committee takes its appropriate place in the process of ingenious and creative work done in so many ways by so many women, men and youths for the preparation of the Tenth SED Congress. It is good that Comrade Erich Honecker's speech at the Gera Bezirk party aktiv conference found such a positive echo in our trade union work.

Working people everywhere are contemplating how to raise productivity, achieve a better effect by every gram of material, ease heavy manual labor, translate their thoughts into action. These attitudes reflect mature socialist proprietorial and state consciousness and a feeling of responsibility for contributing individually and concretely to the further strengthening of the socialist German Democratic Republic.

The report, the paper read and the subsequent discussion reflected our united resolve even more effectively to dwell on the benefits of socialism. At our Bernau Conference of officials last May we provided the "response of the labor unions to the convocation of the Tenth SED Congress." We started from the premise that the policy of the party of the working class, based on the welfare of the people, the maintenance and security of peace, represents the foundation of the confidential rapport between party and labor unions.

A Mass Movement Unprecedented in the GDR

We set targets for our work, which represent an enormous challenge to the creativity of the millions of members of our organization and an appropriate contribution to the preparation of the party congress. Five months have passed. It is a great honor for the GDR labor unions that the party of the working class describes the competition organized by us "the best for the Tenth Party Congress! Everything for the welfare of the people!" as a mass movement unprecedented in breadth and force.

Guided by great and noble goals, the working people of our country are changing their environment and themselves in a manner and to an extent never before envisioned. Such exemplary and progressive attitudes emerge and mature only in quite special social conditions, that is in socialist conditions characterized by the leading, organizing and inspiring role of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Led by the party of the working class we have created for ourselves those conditions which allow for the free and unrestricted evolution of all creative potentials of the working people for the benefit of all the people.

The socialist worker-and-farmer power established a sound foundation for everything we have so far been able to achieve, for our secure present and the tremendous prospects of future development. Led by the party we realized the demand: What the people's hands create must belong to the people!

Such ills inherent in capitalism as exploitation and oppression, crises and wars, unemployment and social insecurity have been overcome once and for all in our socialist fatherland.

Our German Democratic Republic proves that socialism has irrevocably and for ever taken root in German soil and achieves ever new successes and victories. Just now, in preparation of the party congress, we are witnessing the emergence and evolution of more and more new initiatives and actions for the welfare of the entire people, the continuing flourishing and advance of our worker-and-farmer power. We have made reality the scientific predictions by the great sons of our people, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Doctrine became material power by taking hold of the masses and leading to fundamental changes in the history of our people.

Our own personal experiences confirm that this development continues to advance in hard struggles for the victory of the new, the realization of the socialist revolution. Conscious action is always preceded by reflection by mental effort. It is good to know what our own actions achieve. It is easier to do that which has first been thought out clearly. This dialectic connection gains in importance when we are concerned with understanding and activism in the great social context.

Great Attention to Ideological Work

Consequently it is profoundly appropriate to the labor union's representation of interest in socialism for us to devote enormous attention to ideological work, making it the focus of all our efforts.

Of the utmost importance here is the explanation of and familiarization with historical connections.

Much of that which represents the past for us now was the present only yesterday. That which we now regard as the future will be the present by tomorrow. Anyone familiar with the history of working class struggles will understand that our advance to socialism and communism involves hard class struggles and is by no means a gentle stroll.

New problems and phenomena rain down on us every day. Because comprehension of each of these issues is of the utmost importance for conscious effort, the ideological work as done by our party, by all of us in concert, is crucial.

Included here is the understanding of history as well as the settlement of current issues and future tasks. Lenin, for example, said: "No one can be a class conscious worker who, by his attitude, shows that he remembers nothing of the history of his movement."

That saying holds true to this day. A class conscious worker must correctly understand the complex and difficult present in order to draw the proper conclusions for his future behavior.

My friends, we recall the many resistance fighters who, in the very last minute of their lives, still flung the truth into the faces of their fascist murderers, namely that the victory of the working class is inevitable. Their steadfastness and courage derived from these fighters profound conviction that Marxism-Leninism, the

science of the working class, represents the truth. Insight in the inevitable course of history and our Marxist-Leninist conviction hold an immense importance for the solidarity of the workers movement. It is our sharpest and most effective weapon in the class war.

If, for example, we consider the ideological starting position confronting us after the destruction of fascism by the glorious Soviet Army in 1945, we clearly note the mental change effected by our ideological work. Its breadth and depth are unprecedented in German history.

Thirty-five years ago we faced the material, intellectual and moral ruins left behind by fascism. We faced people who had long been denied the truth. Moreover, thousands of the best among us had been murdered by fascism.

When we look back on these beginnings we are better able to appreciate our achievements as something truly heroic, effected from the beginning (with the help of the guidance of the party) by the working class and all working people, and continuing to this day. At present we are truly able to claim: Our approach was correct. Our efforts paid off. Our homeland, the German Democratic Republic, is a stable, healthy and flourishing socialist state. We are associated fraternally and for ever with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. Here peace has found a secure home. We are more than ever proving to be pillars of socialism and peace in Europe.

Since their establishment in June 1945 the labor unions have cooperated in this historical development. At all times and in all situations they have shown themselves faithful companions of the party. That will continue in future also!

One Experience From FDGB History

Dear Colleagues!

For the better understanding of current tasks I would like to refer back to an important historical fact, though I am not concerned here with the recital of FDGB history--we are now working on such a history and hope to have it ready in time for the Tenth Congress.

The (1950) Third FDGB Congress was one of the most important in the history of the German workers movement. Why? This congress avowed the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism. It proclaimed socialism the goal of its struggle. The major class organization recognized the leading role of the SED, the party of the working class. Friendship with the Soviet Union was emphasized.

That was the result of a difficult and often complicated process of the politico-ideological settlement of many issues and problems within the workers movement and the labor unions.

This program was the logical result of past battles and led to the firm unity and solidarity of the Free German Labor Union Federation and its industrial trade unions. Both the goals and the direction were decided, and thereby the role and attitude of the FDGB regarding the fulfillment of the historical mission of the GDR working

class. That is why I believe that this congress was a real milestone in the FDGB's development.

At all times in this development the FDGB endeavored fully and in all areas of social life to take its proper place as the representative of the interests of the working class and all working people, as schools of socialism. Our socialist society is young and constantly evolving. We are all quite aware of how much remains to be done. Phenomena not foreseeable even yesterday now call on us for new decisions. The foe adopts more and more brutal and perfidious means and methods to deflect us from our good course.

Constantly New Challenges to Union Work

We are thus constantly confronted with new challenges to the teaching of Marxist-Leninist science, the content and methods of our organizational and propagandist work. New demands constantly arise with regard to our scientific management, the leadership of the FDGB as well as that of the industrial and other unions. We are compelled to arrive at new conclusions from the new data confronting our management of agitation and propaganda.

We are noting, for example, that membership meetings, political discussion on the job, the schools of socialist work, are gaining increasing importance in our organization. To disregard this fact would reduce the efficacy of our work. We must constantly search for ways to make the quality of our efforts match our responsibility as the major class organization with now more than 8.8 million members.

In this context let me mention that a situation is not necessary right because no problems arise. Actually good political work is done wherever problems are settled, and where a lively and relevant union effort achieves important results with regard to the political judgment of the working people, enabling the latter to undertake effective actions.

Socialist democracy is in this manner realized and practiced by millions of people every day.

Think of the creativity involved when 2 million working people participated in the discussion of the draft plans and submitted 1.2 million suggestions!

My dear colleagues!

At the conference on political instructions in November 1920, almost to the day, Lenin spoke the following words which offer a guiding light to political work in socialism: "All propaganda must base on the political experience of economic build-up."

A powerful economic force has arisen in the socialist conditions prevailing in our country. Our ideological efforts are decisively involved. Indisputable facts are there to prove this claim.

In 1949, the year our republic was established, the produced national income amounted to M22.4 billion; in 1970 it was already M109.47 billion and in 1979 M166.64 billion. Calculated per capita it developed from M1,187 to M9,972.

Or let us cite the development of the average stock of basic assets. In 1949 this amounted to M266 billion, in 1979 to M686.13 billion.

Again, let us take housing construction. In 1949 we built a total of 29,825 housing units in the entire republic. In 1970 we turned out 76,088 units and in 1979--impressive witness to the policies of the Eighth SED Congress in this field--we constructed 162,743 housing units.

Excellent Contributions to the Results of the Competition

According to the results so far achieved we will this year also finish a year of significant successes in the economic development of our country. In the first 9 months we turned out 5.4 percent more industrial goods than in the same period of 1979. This represents a volume of M14.4 billion. We show a good plan advance. Working people everywhere are making an excellent contribution to the GDR's competition results. Most combines, VVB's [associations of state enterprises] and enterprises have already achieved an advance of 2 or more working days. That is very good indeed.

In our "labor union response to the convocation of the Tenth SED Congress" we set ourselves the task of strengthening the fighting attitude of every unionist for the fulfillment of challenging tasks involved in the all-round strengthening of the GDR.

We are conscious of our responsibility for the required greater rise in the performance of the national economy. We regard the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1980 economic plan as a fighting task in order to continue successfully to realize the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. The decisive contribution to the greater prosperity of the socialist nation, the further improvement in the radiating power of socialism is made especially in the sphere of material production. The more profoundly our ideological efforts convey this truth, the more diligently will everybody strive for the goals which the party has set in the interest of the people as a whole.

This includes the fact that a strong rise in the capacity of the economy calls for great productivity and efficiency everywhere in our society. We are concerned with intensification and rationalization as the main approach to our economic development. Thrift and once again thrift in the handling of raw materials and other materials, the use of every single minute of our time--these are the vital demands on everyone, wherever he or she may be working. All this is necessary to stabilize that which we have so far achieved and for the further gradual progress of our working and living conditions. The appreciation of these connections is steadily deepening in the working class and the people generally.

We are justified in claiming that the majority of colleagues have learned to acknowledge the truth that we can consume only that which we have first produced. This indisputable fact runs like a red thread through our work, determines the actions of millions. Appreciation of this fact also enriches the creative initiatives in the socialist competition. The orientation decided by us in the socialist competition provides the direction and goal to the entire organization. And the better we, the organizers of the socialist competition, know how correctly to formulate the content and goal of the competition, the more we contribute to the further dynamic development of our economy within this wide field of action. That has always been a basic concern of our organization as one of the forces exercising power in our worker-and-farmer state, because only thus do we realize a crucial aspect of the representation of interests of the working class and all working people.

Consistently to Reconsider Actions

To be sure, that also is a process of development. We must constantly reconsider whether the slogan or action leading us to good results today will still be effective tomorrow. The river flows. Nothing is stationary. Anyone clinging to what has been determined once fails to understand the great dynamic development of our age. Does this agree with Marxism-Leninism? It does.

Our doctrine became material power precisely because it is daily enriched by our practice and, in turn, inspires our socialist advance. Just think of the great creative achievements by the collective of Zeiss workers in Jena! This year the working people in this combine have already accomplished 2.37 working days of additional production. Now they are aiming by the end of the year to produce goods equivalent to 3 more additional working days. Worthy of particular praise is their initiative in 1981 to turn out 1 percent more of industrial goods production and, by the Tenth SED Congress, to achieve an additional day's output--on top of the advanced rate of increase for the 1981 plan year.

Goods production, for instance, is to grow by 11.3 percent and net production by 12.1 percent.

That shows genuine fighting spirit. It shows exceptional willingness to give their best for the Tenth SED Congress. Fulfillment of these magnificent obligations is possible only because the Jena workers are consistently advancing on the road to intensification on the basis of a long-range conception of science and technology. Translated into practice here was the correct orientation of the party: To make scientific-technological progress the focus of all work. Here we see most clearly how the more resolute application of science and technology helps develop significant reserves for increased output.

Already other collectives are following the initiative of the Zeiss workers. For example the working people of the Schwarza Chemiefaser combine, the Ost Eisenhuetten combine, the Magdeburg and Erfurt housing construction combines, the Zeulenroda furniture plant and many others. It should be our task--and here I address all leadership organizations of industrial and other unions, all FDGB organs down to the individual shop steward--to adopt these examples appropriate to the respective conditions and apply them generally in our republic. That is also how I interpret the conduct of the socialist competition in Lenin's meaning. It represents the creative use of the slogan "a greater profit from each mark, each working hour and each gram of material." This admonition also means that this orientation has not yet permeated all our practical work.

Unfortunately we keep on seeing examples of the waste of materials, the wrong use of primary and secondary raw materials and the failure rationally to use time.

With Greater Persistence for Greater Efficiency

In his Gera speech Comrade Erich Honecker said: "The results of the implementation of our economic strategy are mainly to be measured in greater efficiency. The ratio of expenditure to result in production must be resolutely improved." Let us therefore with greater persistence struggle for the realization of these tasks in the socialist competition!

By these means we will also further strengthen the authority of our organization in the life of our society. That responds to the genuine and vital interests of the working class and all working people. Let us always bear in mind that we were not granted authority for life but must constantly earn it anew. That is how we execute our role and maintain our status as labor union officials. To quote Lenin, it is both a great honor and a responsibility to be a labor union official.

It is part of the struggle for advanced performance in production, great efficiency and productivity that we should deal with the daily problems in the lives of our colleagues and with persistence and the greatest possible constructiveness work for the effective improvement of our people's working and living conditions. To separate the one from the other would amount to no more than half measures. Everything together makes for a whole, responds to the further struggle for the implementation of the main task, decided by the party, for the unity of economic and social policy.

Though at times some needs may increase faster than the potential for their immediate satisfaction, we may claim generally--and each one of us can bear witness to this provided we look at things realistically: We have harvested plentiful fruits of our labors. We have a high standard of living. Working and living conditions here have improved in the course of the 1970's more than in any comparable period of GDR history. This is now largely reflected in education and culture.

Wherever we look, whether at the development of theater, film, fine art, literature and crafts, we see breadth and variety, the advanced development of our intellectual-cultural life. That was impressively confirmed this year by the workers festival in Rostock. We are most gratified to note that the FDGB prize for arts enjoys such great prestige in intellectual-cultural life.

The great variety in the improvement of working and living conditions is also reflected in the obvious advances by the vacation service of the labor unions and the enterprise recreation system, the FDGB children's vacation organization and the encouragement of recreational sport. Starting from the various needs of the working people we will continue to devote our full attention to this aspect of our work, in the interest of the working people.

We are fully supporting the preparation and successful conduct of the Seventh Gymnastics and Sports Festival and the Ninth Young People's Spartacus Sport Festival to be held in Leipzig in 1983.

We are thus justified in claiming: The interlinking of the satisfaction of growing material and intellectual needs as well as sensible recreation increasingly determine the evolution of the socialist lifestyle which looms so large in our work.

Our efforts are therefore devoted to the promotion of happiness, social security, a secure life today and tomorrow.

How else could we possibly see the role and tasks of our unions in this age? How else assume our respected place in the socialist society?

Demonstrated here are the truth and correctness of the labors of the Free German Labor Union Federation as the representative of the interests of the working class and all working people, as schools of socialism.

In Firm Alliance With the Soviet Union

Dear Colleagues!

Our German Democratic Republic will forever in firm fraternal alliance stand by the Soviet Union. Nobody will ever be able to change this! Our state is a loyal and reliable member of the socialist community.

We trade unionists note the obligations arising from this our country's status. We consolidate friendly relations with Soviet labor unions and the unions of the other socialist countries. We consider it our concern to champion the normalization of relations with labor unions the world over--regardless of organizational ties or ideological orientations.

The Soviet Union, the community of socialist countries, the national liberation movement, the communist and workers parties--in other words the three revolutionary mainstreams of our age--describe peace as the issue above all others, the pursuit of detente and the end of the arms race as the command of the hour. These honorable tasks are therefore bound to become the vital content of our work.

The beginning 1980's are distinguished by our efforts to do everything for the continuing security and maintenance of peace, to make peace even more stable. Our unionist efforts on the international scene are devoted to this purpose also. Still, we cannot fail to note that this particular time is characterized by the exacerbation of the international situation, the danger to peace represented by the aggressive forces of imperialism, especially the United States and their active supporters in Western Europe, most of all the FRG.

The class enemies have started on a major offensive against everything that is progressive worldwide. The world of peace, the world of progress, the world advancing toward peaceful coexistence--all these are offensive to the eyes of these forces. The WASHINGTON POST conducted a poll among arms magnates regarding their views on the future prospects of the international situation. Without exception they mentioned future "profitable tensions and conflicts." Obviously the goals of their policy are exacerbation, the forcible return of the world to the period of the cold war and confrontation rather than calm, detente and disarmament.

This attitude was translated into practice by the long-range NATO arms program of 1978 and the NATO missile decision of December last. They do not look to the ratification of SALT II. Instead their program is rearmament. They intend to shift military balance in their favor, in favor of imperialism.

U.S. Interference in All Continents

U.S. imperialism is interfering in the internal affairs of peoples on every Continent. Unpopular regimes are propped up cynically and in total disregard of human rights, and the United States acts even in countries on the move such as Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Bolivia, Iran and many others. They also have their dirty fingers in the war between Iraq and Iran because at stake are oil and profits, the recovery and maintenance of their influence in this region.

U.S. imperialism is plainly incapable of resigning itself to the progressive development of the world. Instead of complying with the proposals of the Soviet Union as submitted by Comrade LI. Brezhnev in Berlin last year and again, in an expanded version, taken to the United Nations, U.S. response has been continuing rearmament, the expansion of the arms program including production of the neutron bomb.

That is why it is sabotaging one after the other of the painfully achieved results of detente. To make its political goals prevail imperialism threatens military force. U.S. presidential candidate Reagan gave the game away when he said lately: "As the Russian bear will not willingly change its nature, it must be contained or tamed by U.S. power."

The Soviet Union has always maintained its principled attitude to the defense of mankind's right to life, the right to peace. That has been and still is a blessing for humanity. We owe it to this consistent attitude that we are now on our European Continent enjoying the longest period of peace in this Century.

We will never allow this development to be disrupted in the coming years and decades! It is our assertion that war is not a law of nature. Wars are waged by people, and they can be prevented by people. We must fight for peace!

We are now able to conduct this fight from far more solid positions. The history of the GDR offers proof that peace is rooted in socialism. Here there is no class or stratum interested in rearmament and war, in plundering or enslaving other peoples. We occupy a respected place in the community of peace loving humanity. We encourage everything serving the peaceful coexistence of the peoples. We struggle passionately against all attempts to turn back the clock of history.

The lessons of history are far too instructive for us not to recognize the ultimate aim of the enemy attacks. Regardless whether it is dressed up in sheep's clothing or openly appears as the saber rattling world policeman, imperialism is at all times interested only in liquidating that social order which banished exploitation and oppression, and where children learn about unemployment, lock-outs, crises and inflation only from history books.

Though the statesmen of the United States, the FRG and other NATO countries signed the final act of Helsinki and thereby accepted the principle of noninterference, they keep on trying to poke their noses and fingers into the internal affairs of other countries.

One FRG official outlined this in the following words: "It is imperative to infiltrate our ideas in the public life of communist countries by all the resources of modern propaganda and in psychologically adept ways."

To what end? It is certainly no accident that the capitalist world has suddenly discovered its "affection for socialism in Poland," offers "counsel" and impudently and brazenly interferes in the internal affairs of our Eastern socialist fraternal country.

Our German Democratic Republic is lined up for ever at the side of the Polish patriots, as their friend and ally. Especially in the complex situation now prevailing in the People's Republic of Poland we, as communists and proletarian

internationalists, must prove ourselves true friends of our Polish neighbor. The counterrevolution must be aware that its sphere of power does not reach beyond West of the Elbe and the Werra.

Agreements Trod Underfoot

The altogether hypocritical and aggressive nature of imperialism is illustrated by the example of an article published in the FRG newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE on 21 October last: "There has been enough rapprochement; to be discussed now are changes." These are the aims of the class enemy; he aspires to destruction, treads treaties and agreements underfoot and more and more brazenly interferes in our internal affairs.

We note with concern that even leading DGB officials publicly champion attitudes detrimental to normal relations between the GDR and the FRG and to the pursuit of detente.

The leadership of the West German railroad union sent a circular to more than 50 labor union organizations in Europe, asking them to support their claim to authority over the West Berlin railroaders. They justified this claim as follows:

"Incidentally, Berlin (West) is, economically and to some extent politically an integral part of the Federal Republic of Germany."

FRG imperialism is reacting particularly aggressively to the well founded claims addressed to Bonn by Comrade Erich Honecker in Gera. They simply bypass the most important issues concerning mankind--peace, detente, disarmament, normalization--in short the issues of peaceful coexistence. They attempt to reduce all of this to so-called human relief. Human relief--that means above all to preserve mankind from the horrors of another war, it means an end to the arms race, it means to listen to those people who passionately and publicly protest the NATO missile decision.

Instead they constantly reiterate to the FRG public the century old lie of the alleged "Eastern peril." Anticommunism, anti-Sovietism are pursued to an unprecedented extent. Incitement and defamation of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the CSSR are intended to destroy the peaceful coexistence of the peoples and load mankind with hatreds.

Human relief--that would have called upon the FRG Government to offer FRG sportsmen the opportunity to participate in the Moscow Olympic Games.

For years past the FRG has refused to recognize GDR citizenship. In this matter Bonn takes refuge behind the assertion that the FRG Constitution does not permit such a change. What a hypocritical pretext! That is not true at all! They are certainly not so pedantic in other instances. When it was a matter of the FRG's joining NATO and beginning to rearm, the constitution was promptly amended. In the period 1951-1967 alone the Bundestag enacted 15 laws canceling, amending or introducing articles of the constitution.

What Decides Relations Between the Two German States?

Let us put it plainly: Relations between the two countries are not decided by the degree of kinship of individual citizens or the length of visits; they are decided by the ruling social system.

All the hypocritical wailing about human relief offered in the bourgeois mass media lacks credibility in the face of the blockage of the normalization of relations between the two German states caused by Bonn's tenacious assertion of concepts running counter to international law. In the end the FRG will of course not be able to resist facing realities in the issue of GDR citizenship.

Currently the class enemy makes a lot of ado about everything. When we defend ourselves against currency speculators, he immediately claims that we are against détente. He does not like the way we set our clocks--because he generally dislikes our way of arranging the signature of our time. Nothing of this is likely to change in future either. We will fight even more resolutely and efficiently against all hostile influences. We will increase our vigilance.

Our most effective means continues to be the all-round consolidation of our socialist fatherland. Imperturbably and persuaded of the profound justice of our cause we are organizing the developed socialist society, the gradual transition to communism. We are continuing our work, conscious that our earlier efforts have been well worth the trouble, that we are advancing on the right way, that our ideology is superior to all others, that the policy of the party of the working class has proven its worth, and that we possess everything needed to achieve new and beautiful goals.

Nothing can be more worth while than to cooperate in the increase in our social wealth as the principal condition for the satisfaction of our wants.

Nothing can preoccupy us more than the defense of our very existence, our life, against all enemies of peace.

Nothing can be more desirable than to ensure for our children a carefree development in peace and quiet.

It is honorable and corresponds profoundly to humanist ideals for us to devote our entire strength, our abilities and talents as well as our love to the advancement of mankind. Passionately and devotedly the millions of members of our organization will employ all their forces to achieve these humanist goals. That is how we, the Free German Labor Union Federation, fulfill our historical mission to labor for freedom, happiness, peace and socialism.

Let us advance to new victories, new successes. Let us do everything possible toward the further strengthening of our socialist fatherland, our German Democratic Republic!

Toepfer on Ideological Tasks

East Berlin TRIBUNE in German 4 Nov 80 pp 5-6

[Excerpts from address by Johanna Toepfer, deputy chairman, FDGB National Executive Committee, to 11th meeting of that committee: "Ideological Tasks of the Trade Unions in Preparation for the 10th SED Congress"]

[Text] Millions of labor union members, the many honorary officials, our executive committees and leadership organizations are diligently endeavoring to meet the obligations incurred by the trade unions in their response to the convocation of the Tenth SED Congress. "The Best for the Tenth Party Congress! Everything for the Welfare of the People!" That principle determines the actions of collectives in all social sectors. Johanna Toepfer made this statement at the beginning of her address. She continued:

At this time we may proudly note that the socialist competition has developed more comprehensively and successfully than ever before in GDR history. The preparation of the Tenth SED Congress has become a period of immense initiative and mass struggle by the working people for the greatest possible increase in economic performance. Never before has the political motivation of the working people for advanced performances in the socialist competition been so strong as it is now. More numerous and resolute are the promises by the working people all-round to strengthen our socialist state by the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1980 plan, further to raise its reputation in the world and increase its potential at the side of the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries to act as a peacemaker in the world and especially Europe.

Proof of Working Class Creativity

More and more working people and work collectives base their excellent economic performances on the awareness that this is the only way to pursue the tried and tested line of the main task in the unity of economic and social policy. They wish to safeguard the continuing dynamic development and excellent growth in the economy's capacity for the period 1981-1985 in order thereby to secure our earlier achievements and create the prerequisites for further gradual improvements in the people's material and cultural living standards.

Drawing up an interim balance sheet now, barely 6 months before the Tenth SED Congress, we may safely claim this: The great mass initiative of the working people in these weeks and months has provided another proof of the creativity of the working class and all working people. We are proud that Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, in his Gera speech on topical domestic and foreign policy issues praised the trade unions contribution to the successful social development of the GDR.

We welcome in particular the distinction accorded the devoted work of our more than 2 million honorary officials. Their daily efforts among the members, their championship of the interests of the working people--that is the alliance with the party in action and represents a definite advance in the confidential relationship of party and people. For the FDGB it is a basic prerequisite for successful union representation of workers interests at all times to act as a reliable ally of the SED.

Johanna Toepfer declared that we will not allow our enemies by their regularly reiterated slander to deflect us from this doctrinally correct standpoint which has been tried and tested in practice. She continued:

In the 35-year history of the FDGB we have had practical proof of the fact that the party's leading role directly benefits every unionist. In the representation of their members interests the labor unions have achieved results unimaginable in any capitalist country.

The SED is at all times supported by the majority of the people, develops the initiative of the people and makes the welfare of the working people the content of its guiding and planning activities. Here is the starting point for the operation and appreciation of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party by the trade unions in the GDR.

In the closest alliance with the SED, the FDGB is the most comprehensive organization of the ruling working class in the GDR. Indeed, it has itself become an important link in the political system of the worker-and-farmer power. Labor unions and the state share the same class base. Our socialist state, the greatest political achievement of the working class, was the result of a hard class war against its enemies, the enemies of democracy and socialism, the enemies of revolutionary labor unions.

The defense of our state, its consolidation and its world reputation are equally the reflexion and result of the class war against the same enemies who earlier desired to prevent its establishment. And that is why the FDGB will continue to focus its efforts to all-round strengthen and reinforce our GDR, in view of the complex international situation.

The deputy chairperson dealt in detail with the status of politico-ideological work:

Whatever may be the actual task of a union official, one thing is common to all: The task tenaciously to indoctrinate the members. The entirety of the tasks to be accomplished by the trade unions requires persuasive and patient politico-ideological work.

In the preparation of the Tenth SED Congress our organization has done well because--as per the request of the Ninth FDGB Congress--we have better succeeded in making our politico-ideological work the focus of all union activities. Politico-ideological work is part and parcel of all labor union work. Lenin said that indoctrination is the main method of work in the trade unions.

Trade union membership meetings, the school of socialist work and personal talks with the members on the job--these are the most important and useful types of membership life, where the work of indoctrination is carried on in the labor unions.

It would hardly be possible to think of an aspect of our union work which, by its nature, is unrelated to ideology. Whatever field of union work we tackle, whatever we pick as an issue relating to the representation of interests, it is in one way or the other linked to "politics at large."

High Standard of Membership Meetings

It has been demonstrated that our response to the convocation of the Tenth SED Congress was not too ambitious. We said then: Everything to be done must be done with common sense and conviction. At the present time a wide ranging comradely discussion is going on in all labor union organizations, concerning the many issues involved in the party's domestic and foreign policy. The increasing consciousness of our members is reflected in particular in membership meetings.

The Ninth FDGB Congress set itself the task further to raise the standard of membership meetings. Thousands of union leadership organizations and shop stewards were successful in their efforts to satisfy this demand.

The growing political content of membership meetings and the impulses arising therefrom for all areas of union membership life have helped decisively to determine the unions contribution to the successful pursuit of the program of full employment, the prosperity of the people, economic growth and stability. Since the Ninth FDGB Congress an average of 40 membership meetings have taken place in each of our more than 280,000 labor union groups and about 46,000 basic organizations. Attendance is high. Eight of 10 union members attend, 5.5 million of them in September last, for example.

In recent weeks the schools of socialist have dealt with the topic "the preparation of the Tenth SED Congress--the cause of every labor unionist." We have noted how lively was the discussion in the collectives and how concretely related to their work. We certainly felt the readiness to give of one's best and initiatives for the Tenth SED Congress develop alongside greater insight in the social processes, the economic and political involvements.

Marxism-Leninism the Basis of Our Work

At our Third Congress in 1950, 30 years ago, we made Marxism-Leninism the basis of our work in the labor unions. Since that time the FDGB has devoted itself more and more to the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist science among members and officials by means of social educational evenings and adult education courses.

The Eighth FDGB Congress responded to the objective necessity and the yearning of members for more political education by formulating the requirement to familiarize the entire class with the scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

Now, 8 years later, nearly 3 million members, including 2.3 million who are not in the party, are attending nearly 150,000 schools of work to acquire basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge in close relevance to topical issues of SED domestic and foreign policy. Attendants are instructed in economics and familiarized with new production experiences.

Each one of these schools is nourished by the commitment of students to acquire ideological knowledge and the commitment of the discussion leader to impart this knowledge vividly and in a party-like manner. We have the highest esteem for the honorary propagandist activities of the discussion leaders who, with the greatest political responsibility and passion, spread the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and party policy. In recent years we have advanced a long way with regard to the popular teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

The speaker continued by saying that the best achievements of socialist culture and art exercise a great deal of influence on the consciousness and vitality, the morale and lifestyle of the working people. She indicated the responsibility of enterprise labor union leadership organizations for the development of intellectual-cultural life and its ideological content.

It is our task by means of culture and art to make an even more effective contribution to the development of socialist convictions and communist ideals among the working people, to lend wings to their creativity and enrich their thoughts and feelings.

It is a fact that every new step offers greater challenges to the conscious thought and action of the working people. By discussions and debates on the greater tasks the entire work of the unions receives ever new impetus from the work collectives. Refined here are those motives and attitudes which are reflected in the magnificent initiatives in honor of the Tenth SED Congress.

The high rank we accord daily indoctrination arises not least from our responsibility as the most comprehensive mass organization of the class which exercises power. Only those can exercise power, who are aware of the inevitabilities of social development and possess political judgment. It is crucially important for conscious action that the entire class, indeed all working people are made familiar with the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and SED policy. Growing at the same time are the working peoples demands on the standard of ideological work. A large percentage of them has grown up in socialism. They have acquired a sound education and have learned to think in political terms, to accept responsibility. No labor union official may disregard that fact.

It is correct for all union work constantly to focus on politico-ideological indoctrination in the organization and to carry it on day after day in enterprises and work collectives. It is also correct to equip our functionaries with the greatest possible political knowledge, constantly further educate them in political theory and equip especially the younger generation among our honorary union officials with at least elementary knowledge of Marxist-Leninist doctrine regarding the role of the labor unions in capitalism and socialism.

Oskar Vetter, chairman of the DGB, lately commented events in Poland. He said they prove that Lenin's concept of the labor union is doomed to failure. Labor unions, he claimed, must solely represent and try to make prevail the interests of employees vis-a-vis the employers and the state, and that applies to every economic system and every type of government.

It is general knowledge that, in contrast to socialism, such efforts by the trade unions in capitalism--and that includes the FRG--result at best in partial successes, however much union members are committed to the struggle against the monopolies.

In the 31 years of FRG history not a single basic issue involving political or social confrontation has been settled in the interest of the working class. The power and property conditions of German monopoly capital have not been touched upon and are reliably defended by the bourgeois state. The state protects exploitation. The constant battle against unemployment is leading many unionists to the conclusion that the system must be changed.

An Active Social Factor

Our age is characterized by the transition from capitalism to socialism on the world scene. That is of fundamental importance for the attitude of the labor unions. Regardless of the social conditions in which trade unions act now, their operations as organizations of the working class are an objective element in the conflict between socialism and imperialism. In fact a genuine class organization is bound objectively to take the part of socialism. That was Lenin's concept of the trade union and, earlier, that of Karl Marx also. It is as valid now as it was 100 years ago.

The Free German Labor Union Federation has played a significant role in the evolution and prosperity of the GDR. The trade unions of the German Democratic Republic became an active social factor, they were guaranteed far reaching rights by the socialist constitution and represent the interests of their members comprehensively and excellently. That is due to the fact that the GDR basically realized Lenin's concept of the status of labor unions and the meaning of their activities in the construction of the socialist social order.

All trade unionists of old dreamed of one day appearing not only as challengers to a state hostile to the workers but to be themselves decisively involved in all issues affecting the lives of working people and help to creatively settle all important problems. This dream has become reality in the GDR.

Historical Significance of the Alliance With the USSR

Johanna Toepfer dealt in great detail with the importance of our alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries. She noted, for example: For the past quarter century the Warsaw Pact has proven to be a reliable stronghold of peace. Our countries struggle for all goals serving peace with great resolution and equally great persistence. Let us never forget, though, that the Soviet Union is carrying the brunt of this struggle. It is thanks to the strength of the USSR and its international influence that definite limits have been imposed on imperialist mischief making. We should even more insistently illustrate the historical significance of our alliance with the USSR in politico-ideological work--especially in the work collectives. The GDR's successes in the political and economic arena would be impossible without the Soviet Union.

The GDR will tenaciously pursue peaceful coexistence at the side of the Soviet Union and in alliance with the socialist fraternal countries. There simply is no acceptable alternative to this line. The FDGB will further reinforce its efforts to support the GDR's active and constructive contribution to peace and security in Europe.

At the Ninth FDGB we described consistent championship of the main task as the best possible type of the representation of union interests. That was due to the simple appreciation that constant economic growth offers our society the vital basis for the improvement of the people's material and cultural living standards.

Vita Basis--Economic Growth

We are all aware how this policy serves the people and thereby inspires willingness to work and create. It is a policy which allows the working people promptly to feel that personal and social interests coincide in socialism.

In future also the growth of economic performance will be of central significance for the organization of the developed socialist society. As Erich Honecker emphasized in Gera, the stable growth of economic capacity is indispensable for socialism, because the needs of the people continue to develop, and we can consume only that which has first been produced.

We must explain these interconnections to our union members over and over again: Why we strive for higher rather than lower rates of improvement in productivity, why we need a forceful rationalization push--these are topics for the discussion at membership meetings, in the schools of socialist work and for personal talks on the job.

At the same time we should not consider rising needs only. The future calls upon us for more investments. Raw materials are getting more and more expensive; micro electronics and robot technology, to take one example, require huge initial investments. Nor can we afford to not appropriate a slice of our national income to the defense of socialism because peace is not a gift. It must be earned by hard work.

We all have experience of the fact that it is very beneficial indeed for these issues to be thoroughly discussed with the union members. The more clearly and unambiguously we explain this necessity to all, down to the work collectives, the greater will be their readiness actually to meet the challenging demands on performance. After all, the results of the socialist competition depend largely on motivation. That is one of the essential reasons for the scope and strength of the competition for the Tenth SED Congress.

We must also provide a contribution to making the benefits of combine formation generally useful for the rise in economic capacity. The planned development of socialist production conditions, now reflected mainly in the establishment and perfection of combines, has a great effect on the producers, on the work collectives.

As Comrade Erich Honecker stressed in Gera, the importance of the subjective factor is even greater now. Relations between the collectives become more intimate in the course of the deepened division of labor, specialization and cooperation, the closer links between science, technology and production. Everyone carries more responsibility for the whole, the next man, the neighboring collective, the work of the other combine enterprise, the economic end result.

Large capacity units were established in industry and construction by the setting up of combines. They enable the entire process of the acquisition and utilization of scientific-technological knowledge to be uniformly managed. It is indispensable for our dynamic economic growth that this process be speeded up and brought to the greatest possible efficiency.

Conscious Attitudes to Greater Efficiency

Yet some considerable differences in efficiency persist between the enterprises of a combine as well as between the various combines. They are the result of different efficiency prerequisites, most of all the different extent of the utilization of performance capacity available.

There are pacemakers and laggards in the consolidation of the combines. The central executive committees of the industrial and other trade unions are well aware of the situation in their spheres. Many suggestions for making up the arrears were presented at recent central executive committee meetings, especially of the Construction/Wood and Metal IG's [industrial unions].

It is a received wisdom that the exchange of experiences represents the cheapest investment. Still, it is usually not enough to organize a conference or fail to proceed beyond a purely statistical performance comparison when it is a matter of actually and realistically generalizing the best performances.

The first prerequisite is always the same: No collective may resign itself to falling back behind the best. At the same time everyone must be prepared to pass on good experiences. The collective of Manfred Boettcher, Rostock housing construction combine, has decided in the competition for the Tenth SED Congress this year yet to equal the performance standards of the Cottbus and Magdeburg house builders. Such conscious attitudes to the growth of efficiency--and that experience has been reinforced by the Boettcher brigade--are the result of many factors, but especially of systematic politico-ideological work.

A second prerequisite for the reduction of differences in the standards of collectives is the creation by managers, party and labor union organizations in the enterprise of the conditions in which others have achieved their best performances. Many tried and tested methods are available for that purpose. They are based on comradely cooperation and mutual aid, both characteristic for the socialist competition. It is up to the trade unions in particular to see that the work collectives discuss the specific responsibility of every individual for the growth of efficiency, that attitudes are aroused by which the experiences of the best are made the social standard. That is important for economic progress and equally important for the further evolution of the leading role of the working class, especially its ability to handle the tasks of the 1980's.

Ultimately we are always concerned with the question how the working class will cope in the 1980's also with the most important factor involved in the growth of our economic capacity--the rise in productivity. All initiatives must be judged by this criterion. And that applies to the colleague who labors at his machine or plant in accordance with a personal-creative plan for the improvement of productivity as well as to the research and development collective which strives to speed up the development of top products.

The Great Importance of the Schwedt Initiative

Socialist intensification continues to be the main approach. The competition in honor of the Tenth SED Congress impressively shows that scientific-technological progress has become the focus of attention.

In our worker-and-farmer state the people benefit from every scientific-technological achievement, any improvement in productivity resulting from the speed-up in scientific-technological progress. That is a fact which we must always be able to demonstrate in our political arguments.

The speaker devoted a good deal of time to the Schwedt initiative "more to be produced by fewer people," which--in our republic--has become a symbol of exemplary

production rationalization. She said, for instance: We will do well in our politico-ideological work for the application of scientific-technological advances to allow a prominent place to the Schwedt experiences.

Our colleagues in the petrochemical combine demonstrate very illuminatingly how an entire enterprise collective arms itself for the future. Led by the party organization, the correct management and coordination of all social forces is rationalizing the entire production process and the important material and, especially, intellectual potential of the working people is being used efficiently.

They do not confine themselves to labor saving efforts and freeing manpower for other tasks. The Schwedt approach exerts a lasting effect on the evolution of the personality and, at the same time, results in the improvement of working and living conditions. The trade union leadership organizations in the combine are successfully committed to ensuring that the benefits of socialism are brought to bear in the course of the profound changes, and that scientific-technical progress also implies sociopolitical progress. That is union representation of interests at its best and must be emphasized especially in view of practices in capitalist countries where mass dismissals are the order of the day as the result of rationalization and extensive restrictions on output. In factories there no trade union leadership has an opportunity to prevent unemployment with all its serious consequences for the individual. Not even the social concessions and compensation payments painfully gotten out of capitalism can change anything of the simple truth that millions of people in the capitalist world are unable to affirm their individuality in labor. We are also aware that women and youths in particular are affected by rationalization caused firings, something which has a devastating effect on the development of their personalities. The superiority of our social system is thus demonstrated in the application of science and technology also.

From the very start the labor union leadership organizations considered the involvement of the working people in the management and planning of rationalization measures to be the most important aspect of their work. The working people were not simply confronted with a fait accompli, they participated in discussions and decisions. They were able to submit many suggestions relating to such issues as how best to help the scientific labor organization collectives or encourage innovator activism, how more efficiently to use tested types of the competition in the course of the introduction of rationalization measures, and how best to use the proposals and suggestions submitted in membership meetings and schools of socialist work.

The union leadership organizations in Schwedt are devoting the utmost attention to all these issues. Our unionists also have every opportunity to deal with the settlement of many social problems arising in the course of rationalization.

It is extremely important to be as attentive as possible to union representation of interests in the course of mastering scientific-technological advances. This factor is indeed of increasing significance, because the even more intimate linking of the benefits of socialism to the scientific-technological revolution is indispensable for coping with the growing challenges of the 1980's.

Collective innovator activism therefore gains increasing importance for the rise in the capacity of our economy as a consequence of the resolute focus on science and

technology. The constant common search for new approaches, the further perfection of science and technology, further rationalization, the struggle to reduce costs, materials and energy consumption--these equip the work collectives for more and more difficult tasks. Old and tried as well as new types of socialist community work develop ever more effectively in and among the collectives.

All of this encourages the readiness of the working people to commit themselves consciously and with all their strength to the accomplishment of the economic tasks. The reality of our plans and goals is largely affected by the influence of the masses, their daily initiative.

The Basic Organization--the Most Important Field of Work

Johanna Toepfer dealt with other issues of social schooling involving mainly the advanced training of plant union officials. In particular did she stress the following:

The most important field of our political work is the basic union organization, the work collective, the union group. Decided here more than anywhere else will be the extent to which we succeed in coping with the tasks of the 1980's. It is here that we make our most important contribution to all working people's understanding of party policy and strengthen their willingness to implement party decisions.

As Lenin stressed, nearness to the masses is the fundamental condition for the success of trade union work. We are acting in accordance with this precept. We are pleased to note that the authority of our class organization has grown in the course of the preparations for the party congress. Our basic trade union organizations are largely responsible for the ardor inspiring the socialist competition.

Life in the labor union groups is determined by much activism. At the same time we must never forget that the road to communism does not run smoothly.

New problems are constantly arising in our lives. Nothing happens without contradictions. Such necessary measures as the temporary changes in private travel between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland are bound to be topics of conversation in the groups and basic organizations. It is up to us to see that these measures are correctly interpreted and the enemy is not presented with an opportunity by spurious arguments and slander to overlay the real reasons which are based on the interests of both countries. Another example of major political effort needed is the arousal of all union members understanding for the new conditions in which we pursue the main task and the encouragement of their readiness to accomplish even more.

Our politico-ideological work must therefore aim to strengthen the fighting attitude, readiness and will to action of all union members. For that reason we must concentrate our efforts on plants and labor union groups, daily struggle at the side of the union members for the settlement of outstanding problems.

Shop Steward--A Wonderful and Difficult Office

Most of all must we help the shop steward to labor in the interest of the class. What would the FDGB be without the tireless commitment of this official? To be a

shop steward is the most wonderful and at the same time most difficult office in our mass organization. Wonderful because the members consider him fit to represent their interests, difficult because union work has so very many aspects. At one moment a colleague seeks advice because he has housing difficulties. A mother is worried about accommodation for her child. Suggestions for commuter traffic require discussion, and over and over again is he beset by problems involved in the competition. He must follow up proposals and suggestions from members, join other group officials to consider intellectual-cultural projects. The shop steward must expound the policy of the party of the working class, illuminate the links between general economic and enterprise tasks. People talk to the shop steward about political events, mistakes and defects on the job and the behavior of individual members of the collective. He is indeed the understanding listener and counselor.

Constant contact with the shop stewards represents one of the most valuable sources of information for an official who wants to find out what is going on in the plant. Shop stewards are responsible people, deeply concerned with the prosperity of socialism and called upon to settle many and varied daily problems. We must strengthen their resolve to cultivate a certain obstinacy which is indispensable in trade union work. They must never let go, especially when it is a matter of coping with difficulties.

A shop steward is thus called upon to cope with any amount of tasks. To do so properly he needs the close cooperation of other group officials. In addition he must have the help of the leadership, be able to count on monthly guidance, advice given in the plenary meeting of shop stewards, and on top of that he needs topical information.

Practice in combines and enterprises has shown that initiatives in the socialist competition emanate especially from those work collectives whose ranks enjoy daily and sound indoctrination by the shop stewards, where there is a steady and intimate contact between union officials and all members of the work collectives, where plan targets are thoroughly discussed, where officials hear and take into account the proposals and suggestions of the working people as well as their worries and wishes. The many thousands of contacts of our honorary officials in the work collectives are the building blocks of the major edifice, the confidence between party and people. This represents an extremely important aspect of socialist democracy. The daily political work of the trade unions in the collectives coupled with tenacious championship of the constant improvement of working and living conditions for the working people--that is a fundamental element in the dialog between party and people, which serves to deepen the confidential relationship and unity.

A lively and interesting membership best enables us to respond to issues of vital interest and get to know the real mood and opinions of the members. This is the only way to have the experiences of the working people fertilize union work, only thereby can we bring on the spot evidence that we are most attentive to the experiences, suggestions and criticism of the working people.

Our chairman, Harry Tisch, constantly demonstrates this good labor union work. That will be confirmed by anyone who has seen him talking to workers, responding to suggestions and coupling politics at large with the problems of daily life. Such trade union work calls for exact knowledge of the collective, the ability

persuasively to represent our good policies; it also requires empathy and circumspection in cases when this or that view needs to be corrected.

There are two more aspects which need to be specially emphasized in this connection. A very close link exists between the effect of indoctrination and the tenacity of a union official in the matter of working and living conditions. By the main task, the unity of economic and social policy we have clearly shown how we the labor union represent the working peoples interests.

To Work With People, Not Things

We never separate the main task from the socialist competition. However, in the organization of the competition we must always take social conditions into account; we must know them accurately and endeavor to improve them. If, for example, we champion shift work in the interest of the better utilization of working hours, we must also take care that the collectives are always offered substantial meals in the works cafeteria and are able punctually and quickly to catch a bus to and from their place of residence.

At the same time we must emphasize the fact that our enterprise union organizations have many opportunities actively to affect the use of funds for the improvement of working and living conditions. This year alone, for example, the television electronics plant is spending M1.7 million from the culture and social fund and M700,000 from the performance fund on the improvement of working and living conditions. The approval of the plant labor union executive board is required for spending this money. Another M250,000 will be contributed by the plant labor union treasury. The labor union leadership organizations are therefore well able to use these large amounts purposefully and with the best effect in the interest of the members.

Obviously we weigh realistically what we can afford at this stage with the available potential, and what will still require hard work.

We must also exercise our union authority wherever bureaucratism and heartlessness annoy our people. Such problems are called to our attention by appeals to the national executive committee and also by criticisms in the course of the plan discussion regarding the neglect of measures for the improvement of working and living conditions.

As early as the Eighth FDGB Congress Comrade Erich Honecker recommended tenacity in such matters. His words are as topical now as they were then and focus on an important aspect of trade union work. We must take care that nobody brings discredit on this facet of our operations or the official who carries them out.

We should not listen to a union official only when he submits satisfactory proposals for production. We should listen to him also when he talks of problems regarding working and living conditions. To do this the official must have a reasonable attitude, and the leadership organization must back him up.

Many appeals to the national executive committee would be moot if officials in the plant, the kreis or bezirk in fact looked after the rights and duties of the trade unions as guaranteed by the constitution and the labor code. Skilled trade union

work in plants and kreises, based on the thorough knowledge of relevant laws, decrees or resolutions, exercises much positive politico-ideological influence, and so does the opposite. We must therefore always be mindful of the proven principle: Union work is first and foremost work with people, not work with things.

Shared Responsibility in Every Job

We judge an official of our class organization mainly by the way he manages on the spot and together with the workers and collective handle the problems at hand, helps remove roadblocks and find the best solutions. For thousands of trade union officials this is an indispensable part of their effort to recruit more brothers-at-arms for socialism and, at the same time, refresh their own strength and optimism.

The efficacy of our political work largely depends on the observance of internal union democracy. Lively membership involvement in the union group is important to elucidate political viewpoints, strengthen attitudes, help pass on good experiences and assist one another. The labor unions are schools of socialism in Lenin's meaning. They are schools of a special kind, because working people learn not so much from books and lectures as from their own experiences and thus come to cope with the tasks of socialist construction. The more, for example, the working people consider the setting of competition targets a concern of their own, understand the official leadership, are involved in the performance comparison and the ascertainment of the best as well as aware of moral and material recognition, the more passionately will they commit themselves to the realization of the competition targets.

In fact everything depends on our discussion of economic relations with all the workers. We must persuade them that everybody in every job shares in the responsibility for the accomplishment of the tasks of the 1980's. In this respect the quality of the creative mass initiative continues to gain in importance. We, the trade unions, carry the responsibility for seeing this through. As the political class organization of the workers and all working people we are also--and that is a vital aspect of our work--the backers and organizers of the socialist competition. We emphasize this thought because the conduct of the competition is still liable to incidents which run counter to Lenin's teaching and our own experiences.

You know from your own experiences how resolutely we are always struggling to see that the competition is at all times oriented to the plan. It is still instructive to remember that Lenin described the competition as the main method for the improvement of productivity.

This our principle has turned out to be absolutely right. The best proof is provided by the plan effective results of the competition for the Tenth SED Congress. Nevertheless we have not yet prevailed everywhere. Our chairman Harry Tisch lately pointed out some examples of formalism in the competition. Point systems and rigid schedules have nothing in common with the application of Leninist competition principles. There can hardly be a doubt that the economic and educational result of the competition is decided in the work collectives. Model indices and evaluation guidelines dreamed up in conference rooms are not conducive to the encouragement of a frank and combative atmosphere in the work collectives for the accomplishment of plan targets. Such methods totally contradict the democratic customs of our organization.

We need union officials who earn the confidence of their fellow workers instead of wielding a red pencil to sho them where they go wrong.

That applies not only to formalism in the competition. It holds good for any formal treatment of an issue in our organization--whether it involves a membership meeting, culture and education, or the improvement in working and living conditions. This is our first and foremost criterion: Ideological work must take effect in the plant. In accordance with the nature of our organization it must, as far as possible, affect the entire working class.

At today's national executive committee meeting we are therefore again stressing the tremendous responsibility of every trade union leadership organization and every executive committee for the work of indoctrination to be carried on day in day out. Experience has taught us that success in ideological work must be just as thoroughly prepared as in any other field of operations.

Required therefore is tight and planned leadership. We must continue after this national executive committee meeting also to review and analyze the status achieved in the most important areas of our politic-ideological work and derive therefrom the necessary conclusions and tasks.

We must always keep in mind that indoctrination has a most important purpose: To explain party policy to the millions of members in our class organization, to recruit the masses for the active and creative realization of this policy.

That is also the criterion by which we judge the management of the schools of socialist work. The exchange of the best experiences gained by this type of education is indispensable for every leadership organization, every executive committee.

As regards union membership meetings let us not, despite the progress earlier recorded, indulge in complacency. After all, each months no meetings whatever are organized for some 800,000 members. We are also all aware that some union groups and basic organizations do not join in regular membership meetings, and that instead meetings are called only on special occasions. That deprives these members of the opportunity to prepare for the meeting, collect their thoughts and submit proposals. Such ad hoc assemblies fail to respond to the need of establishing a dialog between members and the leadership. We do want instead to see exchanges of views, a reciprocal back and forth.

Conscious and With the Utmost Optimism

In conclusion Johanna Toepfer stated that, as the result of the politico-ideological efforts of the FDGB, millions of trade unionists give of their very best for the party program. She said: We are proud that we are able to make such a claim prior to the Tenth SED Congress without appearing arrogant. At the same time we affirm that we are conscious of the challenges of the future and will therefore do everything possible further to improve the efficacy of trade union ideological work.

For that purpose all sections of the trade unions are carefully applying the guidelines provided by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, in his Gera speech on topical issues of GDR domestic and foreign policy. It is the basis of our political work with the masses in the further preparation of the Tenth SED Congress.

Together with the party and all communists we are confronting the challenges of the future with conviction, optimism and the readiness to serve. The party may always rely on the FDGB, the unionists of the GDR. The best for the Tenth SED Congress! Everything for the welfare of the people!

Presidium Report on Accomplishments

East Berlin TRIBUNE in German 4 Nov 80 p 7

/Report by Heinz Neukrantz, member, FDGB presidium, and secretary, FDGB National Executive Committee: "From the Report on the Presidium to the 11th Meeting of the FDGB National Executive Committee"7

/Text7 In the period under review the presidium and secretariat mainly endeavored to make the "response of the trade unions to the convocation of the Tenth SED Congress," decided upon at the Bernau Conference of officials at the end of last May, the basis of our actions in all sectors of our comprehensive class organization.

The exacerbation of the conflict at the international level, the intensification of the struggle between the forces of socialism and peace on the one hand and the forces of imperialism, oppression and reaction on the other has been attentively noted by trade unionists and was extensively discussed in membership meetings.

In recent weeks Comrade Honecker's Gera address has lent this discussion an extraordinary breadth and helped the ongoing elucidation of many issues, decided the key points of the further preparation of the Tenth SED Congress and inspired many work and trade union collectives to new initiatives and greater performances.

In the socialist competition in combines and enterprises the work collectives are struggling even more purposefully, inventively and resolutely purposefully to exceed the 1980 economic plan and turn out two additional daily productions in the form of useful end products. At this point we may claim that this target has on the whole been reached and is indeed being exceeded in some combines and enterprises.

Exemplary Initiative of the Zeiss Workers

This struggle is of fundamental importance for the further pursuit of the main task. It has largely contributed to the mobilization of all abilities and reserves. Alongside the collectives of many other combines and enterprises, the working people in the Jens Carl Zeiss combine realized exemplary achievements. They have already managed a plan advance of 2.37 working days and intend to extend this to 3 working days by the end of the year. Taking as their starting point earlier results and experiences, they stated their new targets and obligations for 1981 in a letter to the general secretary of the SED Central Committee. According to this they intend in 1981 to increase industrial goods production by 1 percent above the plan target and, by the Tenth SED Congress, achieve additional industrial goods production equivalent to 1 working day. And that although their 1981 plan already provides for substantially higher rates of growth. This initiative by the Zeiss workers shows how to pursue the socialist competition until the Tenth SED Congress. It is imperative everywhere to utilize the time remaining until the end of the year in order fully to meet the obligations incurred. Wherever possible collectives should try and work now as per the more advanced criteria of the coming year.

Workers Suggestions Ensure Greater Performance Growth

In recent months the socialist competition has received considerable impetus by being closely linked to the extensive discussion of draft enterprise plans for 1981. This plan discussion, organized by the labor unions, was another example of the vitality and reality of our socialist democracy. More than 80 percent of union members attended the plan discussions; every fourth spoke in the discussion, and more than 1.2 million suggestions were submitted.

We are particularly gratified to note a sharp increase in suggestions aimed at the speed-up of scientific-technological progress, better rationalization effects, the conservation of raw materials, other materials and energy as well as the improvement of product quality--precisely those matters which primarily decide the growth of performance. Other proposals involve the planned conduct of rationalization measures and more advances in the improvement of working and living conditions.

All these suggestions must be thoroughly studied and purposefully implemented or included in the plan documents and enterprise collective labor contracts to be prepared for 1981.

At the same time it will be necessary to devote even more attention to the close tie between plan preparation, the conduct of the competition and the preparation of enterprise collective labor contracts.

The successes achieved show very clearly that the socialist competition was once again boosted by the great personal commitment of many working people and work collectives. We welcome the fact that well-known competition initiators again spoke out for new initiatives and obligations. They include colleague Manfred Boettcher, shift manager in the Rostock housing combine, colleagues Dreher, Horst Franke and Gerhard Pfeiffer as well as technologist Gerhard Eisner of the Heidenau Elbtal works, colleague Christa Kellermann of the Nordhausen telecommunication plant, colleague Sonja Eistel, weaver in the Greika Greiz VEB and many others. We are daily receiving new notifications from Poessneck and Klettwitz, Cottbus, Wismar and Warnemuende as well as other cities, from textile workers and excavator drivers, skilled workers and foremen, technicians and engineers. All these competition initiators furnish examples, pass on new experiences and inspire others.

It is of the utmost importance therefore to respond to these valuable initiatives and make their differentiated application a prime concern in the work of all labor union leadership organizations and executive committees. In this context we would like to single out the efforts of such FDGB bezirk executive committees as Gera, Berlin, Karl Marx Stadt and Suhl as well as of the central executive committees of the Chemistry, Glass and Ceramics and Metals industrial unions. All of them organized conferences of the best and thereby provided new impetus for the competition in their scope.

In conjunction with the state managers many trade union leadership organizations and executive committees made strenuous efforts even more effectively to promote the innovator movement within the socialist competition as a factor of rationalization and the evolution of socialist personalities. Added to personal talks with innovators, combines and enterprises organized innovator conferences to promote the party congress initiative, and topical tasks for innovators were formulated in the course of the plan discussion.

Central, bezirk and kreis executive committees conducted innovator discussions and exchanges of experience. Together with the fairs of the masters of tomorrow, organized in combines, enterprises and regions, they encouraged more enrolment in the innovator movement, and the latter's contribution to the competition has increased accordingly.

Greater efforts were made for the smooth further development and formation of youth brigades. Since May last their numbers have risen by 1,444, with the result that 412,000 young labor union workers are now involved in such brigades. That is a step toward the implementation of the resolution adopted jointly by the Council of Ministers, the FDJ and our national executive committee regarding the further encouragement and establishment of youth brigades.

Working Conditions Always Kept in Sight

In the period under review the presidium and secretariat again kept a constant watch on working and living conditions, their further planned improvement and the mobilization of trade union forces and skills to deal with evident defects. That applies quite particularly to the orientation of the socialist competition to the additional production of consumer goods, to amenities for workers, commuter traffic, social insurance and vacation services. Data supplied to the secretariat on the status of amenities for workers showed that at the present time 70 of 100 working people daily consume a satisfying hot main meal in the plant. Amenities for people working night shifts have also been noticeably improved.

In cooperation with the Ministry for Transportation and the central executive committee of the Transportation/Telecommunications Industrial Union the national executive committee conducted an exchange of experiences on the further improvement of commuter traffic. This showed that notable improvements have been achieved in this field by the common efforts of many plant trade union leadership organizations and the responsible managers, in close cooperation with the working people in the transportation enterprises as well as by the coordination of the various capacities employed in commuter traffic.

Good Experiences Used for Commuter Traffic

Winter is approaching. It involves special challenges to all for the sure performance of transport and commuter traffic services. The union leadership organizations in these sectors should be concerned especially to see that the competition in the transportation enterprises helps in winter conditions to ensure the best possible readiness and reliability of the means of transportation and achieve the greatest possible punctuality in commuter traffic so as to avoid the loss of working hours and leisure for the working people.

In September last the presidium assessed the plan fulfillment regarding the social insurance of blue and white collar workers in the first half of 1980. Trade union executive committees and leadership organizations are making greater efforts together with the responsible state and economy managing organs as well as the state health care system to affect the development of the sickness status, exert greater influence on the observance of legal principles in the field of health hazard prevention and safety at work as well as checks upon and the evaluation of the sickness status.

Special Attention to Family Recreation

The plan targets for the availability of spa treatment, drugs and appliances were met. The trade union spa committees have done excellent work. Workers were allocated about 60 percent of the assigned domestic spa treatments in the first half of 1980. Improved and stabilized was the availability of spectacles, hearing aids and invalid vehicles to those working people who need them.

Looking ahead to the end of the year we may already claim that every third worker and his family members spent this year's vacation in recreational facilities of the trade unions or enterprises. Our efforts are directed especially to family recreation. In 1980 nearly a million children--mainly in the summer vacations--enjoyed eventful stays in such residential facilities. The FDGB vacation service alone made available 300,000 trips to families with 3 or more children.

Our colleagues in the trade union vacation services and many enterprise recreational/residential facilities focused on the further improvement of amenities for vacationers.

We continued to organize residential and contract facilities of the FDGB as abodes of cultural and socialist recreation.

Further advances were also achieved in the cooperation of FDGB and enterprise recreational facilities. This helped improve amenities for vacationers and allowed for an increase in travel.

FDGB international youth recreation was carried on successfully for the sixth time running. Participants were 730 young FDGB members and 395 unionists from 3 socialist and 8 capitalist countries.

The common concern of our party, our state power and the trade unions for children, their health, development and exemplary welfare was evidenced once again in this year's organization of the vacation action. Children enjoyed a varied and interesting pioneer life in 5,000 enterprise vacation camps, and despite the often poor weather the children experienced even more enriching and educational vacations.

While, in 1975, 650,000 children attended enterprise vacation camps, some 780,000 were able to spend vacations in such camps in 1980. Let me remind you in passing that parents still pay only M12 per child. The places available in 1980 have very nearly met the target set by the Ninth FDGB Congress.

New Impetus to Intellectual-Cultural Life

In the period under review intellectual-cultural life in enterprises and trade union groups has received new impetus. One example is the 18th Workers Festival of the GDR, held from 27-29 June in Rostock Bezirk. It was organized entirely in the sign of the preparations for the Tenth SED Congress.

This 18th Workers Festival and its roughly 600 events offered a persuasive manifestation of the unity of art and people in socialism, a lively exchange of experiences about the great achievements and opportunities of intellectual-cultural life as an

important aspect of socialist ideology and lifestyle. An effective contribution was made to the dispute between socialism and imperialism. It demonstrated the irreconcilable differences between socialist and bourgeois ideology as well as the superiority and powerful attraction of intellectual, cultural and artistic life in socialism.

Taking into account the experiences gained, the presidium of the FDGB national executive committee recently approved the conception for the conduct of the 19th Workers Festival of the GDR to be organized in June 1982 in Neubrandenburg Bezirk.

Just as the working class prepares the Tenth SED Congress by new achievements in the socialist competition for strengthening socialism, artists and craftsmen endeavor to create new works in honor of this social summit and introduce them in the course of a wide-ranging discussion of art. It is up to us, the trade unions, to develop a creative and combative art discussion in individual union groups.

The FDGB art prize enjoys growing significance. More than 2,000 written recommendations were received this year. The prize was awarded to 16 artists and artists collectives as well as 4 crafts collectives.

Our chairman Harry Tisch's visit to the DEFA movie studio left a lasting impression. On that occasion topical issues of our socialist development and of the steadily more serious class war were discussed with the employees and artists at the DEFA studio and a clash of opinions conducted regarding the creative problems and difficulties in the production of socialist-realist movies.

Cultural Opportunities for Working Youth

In future also it will be necessary to keep in mind especially the development and encouragement of the intellectual-cultural life of working youth. We have noted a rise in the incidence of union leadership organizations and executive committees which allow these considerations a firm place in their management of the communist education of young people. In this context they couple efforts to teach Marxist-Leninist ideology with the recreational activities of working youth in houses of culture, enterprise clubs and social facilities as well as with the availability of trade union libraries. They help young union members by way of the cultural opportunities available in enterprises and regions, encourage their involvement in crafts and interest themselves in special events for the benefit of apprentices.

Cooperation Serving the Security of Peace

As regards international actions, the efforts of trade union members focused on the all-round strengthening of the GDR in the interest of socialism and peace. In the complex conditions prevailing at the beginning of the 1980's the FDGB has maintained its tried and tested line of constructive workers policy in the international labor union movement, persistently championed the greater commitment of trade unions in the struggle for peace and security, the consolidation of international solidarity among all working people in the anti-imperialist fight.

Our efforts were directed to the pursuit of policy coordination with the labor unions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to properly continue

the exchange of experiences in the socialist and communist construction and strengthen joint actions designed to consolidate peace and international trade union cooperation.

In consideration of the long lasting crises in the countries of capitalism we declare our solidarity with all those who conduct the struggle against unemployment, inflation and declining real wages, for democracy and social progress, and who protest the rising arms burden. We endeavor further to consolidate and extend our friendship with the trade unions of the capitalist countries, regardless of their international affiliations.

The visit by a delegation of our national executive committee, led by our chairman, to the French CGT on 8-13 June last was of special importance. Our conversations reaffirmed the main line of our long lasting cooperation, the common struggle against fascism and neofascism, against bellicose militarism and the arms race.

FDGB guests in our republic included a delegation of the Scottish Trade Union Council, headed by its general secretary Milne (in August 1980) and a delegation of the Japanese SOHYO, led by its president Makieda (last month). Exhaustive exchanges of opinions on international issues yielded agreement on

- The need to strengthen the struggle of the trade unions for safeguarding peace and for effective disarmament,
- The desirability of an international trade union conference on social and economic aspects of disarmament,
- The usefulness of contacts and meetings by labor unions, regardless of their international affiliations and political orientation,
- The wish of both organizations to pursue and further develop bilateral relations with the FDGB.

Many Acts of Solidarity

In the spirit of close friendship for the third of the main revolutionary streams of our age the FDGB conducted many actions of solidarity of a politico-moral and material nature and extended quick and extensive help to our class brethren in the anti-imperialist struggle and the aftermath of natural disasters. The FDGB was among the first trade unions to charter aircraft to carry drugs, blood plasma, blankets and tents to Algeria to help ameliorate the disastrous consequences of the El Asnam earthquake.

The FDGB's involvement in the World Trade Union Federation occupies a crucial place in its international operations. It is designed further to strengthen its class nature and consolidate its role in the international labor union movement. This consideration guided the delegation of our national executive committee, led by our chairman, who attended the 31st WGB [World Trade Union Federation] General Assembly in Moscow on 1-5 October last. This meeting, held on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the WGB's establishment, praised the historic achievements and merits of the world labor union organization which draws its inspiration from class positions.

It drew up the balance sheet of the results achieved following the Ninth World Trade Union Congress, drafted the first proposals for the preparation of the tenth congress and decided on its convocation in the first quarter of 1982, in Havana.

The work of the assembly focused on the main issues of the international class conflict in our age.

The proceedings at the general council session, the extensive discussion and vote on the decisions and resolutions submitted demonstrated much solidarity in the ranks of the WGB and created a sound basis for the WGB to meet its internationalist obligations in the class conflicts of our age.

Our Comrade Tisch's contribution to the discussion at the general council session received the utmost attention from our officials including those in the plant labor union organizations. It will continue to provide a basis for instruction and further activism in the international field, for an atmosphere of understanding, confidence and cooperation in the international labor movement, for joint trade union actions in the interest of the workers and their families.

11698

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NOVEMBER 1980 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Nov 80 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 11, November 1980, signed to press 16 October 1980, pp 1089-1200: "A Life for the Workers Class." Summaries of articles by the authors cited below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] Friedrich Engels, whose 160th birthday we shall commemorate soon, is the focus of EINHEIT's November issue. While several articles deal with the life, work and impact of the cofounder and coauthor of scientific communism, there is of course necessarily reference also to Karl Marx.

In his contribution, "The Great Revolutionary and Comrade-in-Arms of Karl Marx," Heinrich Gemkow addresses the question as to what brought together these two men and made them remain loyal to each other throughout a lifetime: "It was their common concept of the world that they had worked out for themselves, each first separately. It was the common conviction and common determination to place all their strength and talents at the service of the workers' class and thus of humanity." Gemkow refutes the attempts of anti-Marxists to fabricate contradictions between Marx and Engels and their conclusions.

In an article, "Friedrich Engels' Work Lives in Our Actions," Manfred Banaschak writes that Engels made a fundamental original contribution to the development of our scientific concept of the world. Indispensable for modern materialism is his share in the working out of materialistic dialectics as the theory of interconnections and development, as well as a method for thought and action.

Like Marx, Engels never regarded his theoretical work as an end in itself but always as a weapon in the class struggle of the proletariat, Erich Kundel points out in another article. He quotes August Bebel, who termed Engels the "international trusted representative of the class-conscious proletariat of all countries." As Engels had himself said in 1894, he decisively helped bring about the "dawn of a new and better society ... brilliantly rising for the oppressed classes of all countries."

Referring to Engels' prediction of a coming world war, Bruno Mahlow focuses on the more than 60 years of struggle for peace by the Soviet Union. The USSR's foreign policy, aimed at securing peace, is not merely a concern for diplomats and negotiations, according to the author, but the most legitimate concern of the people's

masses. "Together with the other Communist and revolutionary parties, with all peace forces, the CPSU stresses the need to do everything possible to create a worldwide broad antiwar front in order to raise the peace struggle to a new level."

Otto Reinhold deals with Engels' contribution to founding and developing the political economy of the workers' class. Broaching problems of our economic policy, the author notes that at the onset of the 1980's there is a growing need for a substantial mobilization of qualitative growth factors. There must be no letup in the intensified efforts, according to the writer, to create the theoretical foundations for the management, planning and economic stimulation of a qualitative growth of the national economy.

Johanna Toepfer deals with the trade union representation of interests under socialism. The supreme class mission of the trade unions, she says, is to do everything possible for the welfare of the people, for the happiness of man, for a life in peace and social security. On the threshold of 1981, the year of our Tenth Party Congress, the writer points to the importance of developing in each work collective a militant attitude aimed at high plan targets. This, according to the author, is a great challenge also for all trade union leaders and officials.

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 11, Nov 80 signed to press 16 Oct 80
'Resumes' addendum

Friedrich Engels' Work Lives in Our Actions

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Banaschak, department chief, SED Central Committee; chief editor, EINHEIT; pp 1091-1100]

[Text] While taking issue with bourgeois insinuations, tribute is paid to the theoretical and political efforts of Engels alongside Karl Marx, and Marxism-Leninism is defined as a cohesive yet not by that token completed doctrine. The leadership force and political creativity of our party find their expression in the Marxist-Leninist policy of the eighth and ninth party congresses which consistently focuses on man and the continuation of which calls for high achievements and intensive theoretical and political-ideological efforts.

The Great Revolutionary and Comrade-in-Arms of Karl Marx

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Heinrich Gemkow, deputy director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 1101-1107]

[Text] The image of Friedrich Engels' personality as an international leader of and fighter for the workers class was decisively formed by his ties of friendship with Karl Marx. Much as the work of both was interwoven, each remained a personality in his own right finding their complete fulfillment only through these ties of friendship. The examples set by Marx and Engels for the unity of words and deeds, thinking and action, conviction and attitude are irrevocable impulses in our present struggle.

Friedrich Engels--Pioneer and Leader of the Workers Class

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Erich Kundel, department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 1108-1114]

[Text] In struggling for the realization of the proletariat's world historic mission, Friedrich Engels masterly knew how to combine the theory and practice of the class struggle. That is attested to by his efforts as the cofounder of the Communist League, on the General Council of the First International and as the pioneer of the Second International, and by his close ties with the revolutionary German Social Democracy. Through all that he became the spokesman of the workers class and its internationally recognized leader.

The Soviet Union--Chief Power of Peace

[Summary of article by Bruno Mahlow, political scientist; candidate, SED Central Auditing Commission; deputy department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 1115-1122]

[Text] The October Revolution, establishing the workers' and peasants' power, led mankind out of the blind alley in which it had been placed by imperialism and imperialist war. Today the socialist superpower forms the decisive obstacle to the objectives of imperialist aggression. That it was possible to prevent another world war and secure the peace for the nations, especially in Europe, is due mainly to the consistent peace policy, power and strength of the Soviet Union and its allies.

Friedrich Engels and Political Economy

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist; member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences; SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1123-1129]

[Text] What is Engels' share in founding the political economy of the workers class? What has been the development of the political economy of socialism since, and which questions, because of the concrete historic development conditions and requirements in our country, do to a special degree call for an especially cogent answer for the consistent continuation of SED policy as oriented to the welfare of the people?

Work Collectives as Chief Forum for Trade Union Representation of Interests

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Johanna Toepfer, economist; member, SED Central Committee; deputy chairman, National Executive Committee, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB); pp 1130-1135]

[Text] What does trade union representation of interests mean in socialism? Answering this question, the article shows how the trade unions place the focal point of their efforts on the work collectives by which those collectives develop into performance-promoting and personality-forming social units. How does trade union life develop in this process and help create an atmosphere of trust, of pushing ahead and of pleasure with work?

Scientific-Technical Progress and Work Substance

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, economist; research program director, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 1136-1143]

[Text] Proceeding from past theoretical conceptions that gave simplistic accounts of the effects of automation on changes in the substance of work, this article, based on practical experiences, analyzes the advances and contradictions in question and, in a discriminating manner, presents the developmental trends of the future. The stress is laid here on the responsibility of socialist management for closely combining objective technological possibilities for improving efficiency and for shaping demanding work substances.

Resolving the Housing Problem--A Program Target of the Revolutionary Workers Movement

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ule Lammert, engineer; vice president, GDR Building Academy; director, Institute for Urban Construction and Architecture; pp 1144-1151. A West German commentary of this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Solving the housing issue as a social problem conforms to a great humanistic workers class goal. Clearly formulated by Friedrich Engels, after his thorough analysis of the workers' housing conditions in capitalism, and championed by the German workers movement through harsh class struggle, it was purposefully taken up by our society--assuming the heavy legacy of fascism and war--and is being fulfilled step by step, especially since the eighth party congress, through our long-term housing construction program.

West German Commentary on Ute Lammert Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 168, 10 Nov 80 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Wishes Neither To Restrict Housing Construction Nor To Raise Rents"]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 11, 1980) now has affirmed that, despite more complicated economic problems, the GDR wishes neither to restrict housing construction that eats up increasingly largesums nor raise rents that lie far below actual costs. It was the party's firm intention to carry on with the state housing construction program "purposefully even under the exacerbated external conditions" and to solve the housing problem by 1990. The main point in the further development in East Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Halle and Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz) now was "to insure an above-average growth in housing construction and at the same time make noticeable in all towns and communities, mainly also in the kreis towns, the improvement in the housing conditions."

According to EINHEIT, 10 percent of the total GDR national income goes into housing construction in 1980. Yet not only the largest share of the costs for housing construction was borne by the state but roughly two-thirds of the total costs of housing itself as well. That meant that only from 2 to 8 percent of a family income would go for rents (while in the FRG, from 13 to 35 percent). Important funds were being allocated for "maintaining the low rentals."

Military Theoretician of the Workers Class, Soldier of the Revolution

[Summary of article by Prof Hans Wiesner, lieutenant general, commandant, Friedrich Engels Military Academy; pp 1152-1158]

[Text] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels together created the military theory of the workers class. With it, Friedrich Engels developed into the first military theoretician of the workers class. The views on military theory by the founders of scientific communism are among the precious legacy of the National People's Army. Creatively further developed by Lenin, the scientific military theory of the workers class is the safe compass for the reliable protection of the work of socialist construction.

Complete Collected Works of Marx-Engels (MEGA)--Storehouse of Sociological Findings

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Heyden, director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1159-1164]

[Text] Thus far, 13 volumes of MEGA have been published. Each contains many previously unpublished documents and studies by the founders of Marxism, which are of great scientific value to Marx-Engels research and editions. Documenting this, the article also shows how each new volume marks an important contribution to the ideological

offensive of Marxism-Leninism and to refuting the bourgeois adulteration of Marx and its design in fabricating contradictions between Marx and Engels.

'The One Thing Growing Securely, However, Is Existential Insecurity'

[Summary of article by Dr Horst Veith, economist, research program director, Institute for Research on Imperialism, Academy of Soviet Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 1165-1170]

[Text] Proceeding from that realization of principle by Engels about the situation of the workers class in capitalism, and while taking issue with social reformist conceptions, the article analyzes the inevitable conditions for the social insecurity of the workers, the internal connection between increasing monopoly power and the working people's growing insecurity of existence, and monopoly capital's attack upon the social achievements of the workers class, which evokes its resistance.

Communist Poet Anna Seghers

[Summary of article by Dr (honorary) Alexander Abusch, member, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Academy of Arts; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1171-1178]

[Text] Anna Seghers, the most important communist prose poet of the German workers class, found her way to the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party while still young. Her total artistic output is marked by communist party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and high artistic mastery. According to her artistic credo, the poet, in her novels and stories, intends to "arrive at the truth together" with the reader and activate him for real socialism. Shaping the indissoluble connection between the past, present and future in the life of the peoples and of individuals is another typical feature of her artistic work.

5885
CSO: 2300

NEW CHAIRMAN OF GOVERNMENT COMMISSION FOR STRIKE NEGOTIATIONS APPOINTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Aug 80 p 3

[Text] Mieczyslaw Jagielski, deputy prime minister and member of the Political Bureau of the United Workers Party, who on Thursday 21 August, replaced Tadeusz Pyka as chairman of the government commission set up on Saturday, immediately went to Gdansk.

Speaking on local radio in mid afternoon, he said that his commission was ready to go to the enterprises to begin negotiations there. Demands that can be met will be immediately, he said. As for those deemed impossible to satisfy, we shall explain why, he added.

However, Jagielski said nothing about what he thought of the demand of the MKS (Inter-Factory Strike Committee) set up in Gdansk and with which Pyka, the previous negotiator, had categorically refused to bargain concerning the 21 points presented jointly by the Baltic port strikers before calling the representatives of each enterprise to the prefecture individually.

In Warsaw, the official press agency PAP announced on Thursday that meetings of the party's rank-and-file organizations had taken place "throughout Poland to study the country's socioeconomic situation on the basis of recommendations" stemming from statements by Gierek and Babiuch "and the letter sent to these organizations by the Secretariat of the United Workers Party (Polish Communist Party)."

PAP stated that "participants emphasize that antisocialist elements have engaged in their activities in recent days, issuing slogans affecting the country's very structures, its security and its highest good: the country's unity. That is why it is indispensable to halt the forces that wish to exploit the discontent of the striking workers for their own ends."

Continuing to quote "participants in the meetings who defined the tasks of local party organizations," PAP specifies that "halts and interruptions of production are the most costly ways for the collective to defend its interests. Even if the demands made were to receive favorable consideration, the losses would be borne by all the people."

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, editor in chief of the weekly POLITYKA, whose commentaries often have a liberal tone, writes: "If we do not succeed in having work resumed within a few days (...), the country may have to face a period of instability whose

consequences could be dangerous for everyone." He goes on to state that the West has a keen interest in seeing Poland "retain its balance in order to avoid a situation that could bring on a new and sharpened phase of the cold war in Europe."

On the other hand, Ryszard Wojna, member of the party Central Committee and a commentator for his organ TRYBUNA LUDU, said on a West German radio station Thursday that "Poland can master the crisis by itself. Otherwise, foreign countries will intervene. It is our own problem and we must solve it ourselves."

New Questioning

Convinced that a solution will be found, Wojna stated that "the important thing was for the government to recognize the irritation and dissatisfaction of the workers. This would make it possible to continue negotiations with the strikers, even if some of their demands -- including economic ones -- go too far.

"The existing law on Polish unions no longer corresponds to the current level of socialist freedoms and democracy," he said, before hailing the role of the Catholic Church, "an important stabilization factor." "The party has accepted the Catholic element once and for all," he concluded. "This is new in a socialist country and incredibly important for Poland." The KOR [Workers' Defense Committee; now known as KSS/KOR (Social Self-Defense Committee)] has released the names of the 18 activists arrested Wednesday evening. They are: Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Miroslaw Chojecki, Jan Litynski, Henryk Wujec, Dariusz Kupiecki, Zbigniew Romaszewski, Jozef Sreniowski, Marek Beylin, Wojciech Celinski, Jan Cywinski, Witold Luczywo, Mrs Zenobia Lukasiewicz, Wojciech Ostrowski, Wacław Mikulski, Mrs Malgorzata Pawlicka, Jan Sek, and Maciej Stroj.

On Thursday evening, the police also questioned Leszek Moczulski, chairman of the KPN (Confederation of Independent Poland), set up on 1 September 1979. Previously, the historian was one of the leaders of the ROPCIO (Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights), formed in March 1977 and nationalist in nature. Several persons were arrested along with him at his apartment, including Tadeusz Mstanski and Grzegorz Rosa.

Other dissidents were reportedly arrested in Warsaw: Wieslaw Kecik, Sergiusz Kowalski, Mrs Ulla Droszewska, Mrs Aleksandra Serata and Jan Walc, and in Krakow, Mrs Anka Szwed. The latter was released as was Krystyna Kwaszkiewicz, granddaughter of the late president of the Union of Polish Writers (ZLP), who was taken away by police at the time of the raid on Jacek Kuron's apartment.

In addition, Peter Knopp, photographer for the Swedish photographic agency AFTON-BLADET, and Mrs Mika Larsson, special correspondent for SVENSKA DAGBLADET, who had gone to Szczecin to see the striking Adolf Warski Shipyards, were detained by police, who kept 12 tapes of interviews before releasing the two. They were reprimanded for not having a special authorization from the INTERPRESS agency.

Among the unverifiable rumors making the round in Warsaw, the DAILY TELEGRAPH reports one concerning a lightning visit to Moscow on Wednesday by Gierek, who was reportedly instructed to "show more firmness with the striking workers."

Finally, in Stockholm, a group of Polish emigres claiming to represent the KOR presented an appeal to the press Thursday asking Western leaders to use their influence to make Soviet and Polish leaders understand the "legitimate nature of the demands of the Polish workers.

"No one in Poland expects anything from Western countries other than moral and possibly economic support (...), nor do we harbor any illusions about a possible Western military intervention. The Polish people are perfectly aware what this would mean and firmly reject it," they concluded.

11,464

CSO: 3100

ITALIAN JOURNALIST INTERVIEWS CATHOLIC DEPUTY PREMIER OZDOWSKI

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian 14 Dec 80 p 3

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Jerzy Ozdowski by TEMPO correspondent Franco Venturini in Warsaw, 13 Dec 80]

[Text] Conversation with Poland's Catholic deputy prime minister. Ozdowski: "I do not believe there will be any Soviet intervention." Repercussions on the international situation would be too severe, and the Communist Party still seems quite capable of playing the moderator's role. What is deemed vital, though, is the cooperation of the Church, and that reflects the bankruptcy of the old ways. Meaning of the message being read today in every parish in Poland during the Sunday Mass.

In this new Poland, where things happen every day that have not happened in 35 years, Deputy Prime Minister Jerzy Ozdowski can boast two as yet unchallenged records: he is the only man of cabinet rank in the communist world who carries no party card, and he is the only one since the postwar "normalization" of Eastern Europe to be a Catholic. He belongs to the parliamentary faction known as the new Znak [the Sign], formed in 1976 of a split in the original Znak, and less inclined to believe in the possibility of any collaboration with the government.

Ever since he was named deputy premier, Ozdowski has busied himself intensively at providing three-way liaison among government, the new independent labor unions, and the Church. In the process, he has emerged as a kind of landmark amid the fearfully few common denominators surfacing now under the spur of the dangers hanging over the Polish nation.

Along with Prime Minister Jablonski, Ozdowski will head the official delegation to Gdansk on Tuesday to attend the dedication of the monument to the workers who fell there in 1970.

We talked with him in his private office, where he welcomed us for the first interview he has ever given an Italian daily. We asked him if the government still feels the same anxieties it has so frequently

voiced of recent days as to the likelihood of there being trouble on that occasion.

[Answer] I think that Poland has weathered the storm, even if there are still a lot of clouds in our skies, and even though we keep hearing distant thunder. Yesterday, at this very table, I talked with people from "Solidarnosc" [Solidarity] about the timing and format for television coverage of the Gdansk ceremonies. From that meeting, as from others, I got the feeling that the mutual quest for constructive dialogue is moving ahead, even though there are still problems and resentment that are hard to get rid of. No, we are not at all worried about Gdansk now.

[Question] If I am not mistaken, the concern centered combination of so large a gathering, the worsening of the economic crisis, and the approach of the Christmas holidays, which this year promise to be particularly meager -- at least insofar as the festive table is concerned. Don't you think this constitutes an explosive mixture?

(Ozdowski smiled as the interpreter spoke, as if he were quite pleased that I had asked that particular question.)

[Answer] We have grave economic problems, and everybody knows that. Only today I received a report showing that coal production in Silesia is still declining. We shall have to change the way the work is structured and our mining techniques, but to some degree the dismal statistics coming in from all sides are the result of a more realistic calculation of production. Until now, let's be frank about it, the data were doctored. This whole subject of the economy is one I really like to talk about, because it is an example of how much the Church can do to help the country, as it has already done in the past and will continue to do.

A short time ago I had a talk with the Bishop of Katowice, and we spoke of steps the Church might take to provide moral persuasion in encouraging the farmers to do their duty, to work the land so that the whole nation's tables would not be bare. We are now considering the possibility of increasing productivity without going back on our pledge of a 5-day week, which is part of the Gdansk agreements. I made a suggestion to the Bishop that children work only 5 days a week, while adults might devise a system for taking turns at a 6-day week.

Without the Church's help in persuasion, any such initiative would be doomed to failure. In the farming areas as in the mines, the Church can explain the emergency the nation is going through, and ask the faithful to be patient with the privations we are feeling today as a result of yesterday's mistakes.

[Question] What if the citizens' patience should prove short-lived?

[Answer] It seems to me that you are alluding to the possibility of Soviet intervention in Poland. Well, we know that we are part of a

specific political and military bloc, the Eastern bloc, and we must reckon with the real forces at work within that bloc. I believe that there will be no military intervention in Poland because of the adverse impact it would have on the international situation, and also and most importantly, because the Soviet Union sees the Polish Communist Party as a force still quite capable of keeping the situation in hand. You must never underestimate the power of the party in a socialist state. The PZPR is now engaged in a dialogue with the society; men, manners, and methods have been changed, and it is seeking the support of public opinion. There are, however, limits beyond which it cannot go, limits imposed by the system and by alliances, limits that are binding upon "Solidarity," but especially upon such revisionist or social-democrat groups such as K.O.R. [Committee for the Defense of the Workers] and the right-wing ultra-nationalists, which tend to destabilize Poland. Altogether different is the position of the Catholic Church, which is putting the teachings of Vatican II into practice in relation to the role it can play in the contemporary social reality.

[Question] When the Church asks for broader access to the mass media, why do the authorities put up such all-out resistance? Does the government feel that this is perhaps a violation of its "role?"

[Answer] (Hurriedly) No, no! The Church has every right to use its influence. Something has already been done, and other issues are on the way to solution. One of the problems now before the joint government-episcopate commission has to do with legal recognition of the Church: we are just at the beginning and there are still a lot of problems to be dealt with, but I am sure that there will be a major development on this point, and my conviction stems from the contacts I have with all my colleagues in government.

[Question] I believe I sense in your opinions thus far that the only truly "anti-socialist" elements in Poland are the dissidents, and that the other forces at work are thinking now of the overriding interests of the nation; with such unity of purpose -- still to be tested -- how far do you believe the Polish push for reform can go?

[Answer] I believe that only the K.O.R. and other movements such as K.P.N. [Confederation of Independent Poland] have been left out of the process of renewal that involves the whole nation, although this does not mean that all their members can be branded as anti-socialist. As for the others, particularly "Solidarity," what they do is what counts, and we know that some of the advisers Walesa has around him are well aware of Poland's real situation. I believe that all the changes we can still make will have to do with the pattern, not the system itself.

The Episcopate

We can change the way we run the economy, broaden the private sector some more, develop our dialogue with the forces of society, but we cannot touch the dominant role of collective ownership nor yet the

primacy of the Communist Party. There is room in socialism for the plurality of professional organizations, and hence "Solidarity" too will find a place for itself. But above all I believe in the steady growth of the role of the Catholic episcopate, a role which has been fundamental from the end of August right up to the present."

The strategy governing Deputy Prime Minister Czerwinski's attention to the Church is, actually, the fruit of a collective finding by those at the nation's political summit. Never before these days have people in Warsaw so often repeated the old, old adage that says: "To be Polish means being Catholic, and being Catholic means being a patriot. The bogey of "normalizing" intervention by the armies of Poland's allies has brought a resurgence of traditional Polish nationalism, and the authorities are hoping that it will be the Church, with its tremendous presuasive powers, that will channel the imperilled pride of the Poles toward the "responsibility front," and in fact that is what has been going on for the past 2 weeks. For the "guiding role" of the Communist Party, this is a confession of failure and of chronic impotence.

A Reminder

At all Sunday Masses in every parish church in Poland, a pastoral message from Cardinal Primate Wyszynski will be read. The content of that letter, coming only 2 days before the Gdansk gathering, is a realistic and responsible reminder.

"The price we have paid for Poland's freedom means that its security and its sovereignty cannot be endangered by rash and ill-considered decisions which create the risk of yet another loss of our freedom," parish priests will be telling millions of citizens. And again: to achieve reforms, "we must have a sense of responsibility, of prudence, and of wisdom"... and "The need of the moment is to join all our efforts to assure and protect our country's inviolable sovereignty." And so this is no longer the time -- the faithful will be told -- "to make statements about mistakes that have been made. Because this is no time to hurl accusations at each other."

The pastoral letter, however, will speak to other ears as well, both in Warsaw and in Moscow: "Every nation," says the letter, "works first of all for itself and for its sons and daughters, even though today there is no absolute sovereignty for states which are bound to blocs or alliances; nevertheless, these alliances have their limits." The Soviets, we know, do not go to church much, but they will be able to hear that last sentence thanks to one of the many achievements that have alarmed the Kremlin: tomorrow, as it is on every Sunday, the Mass will be broadcast over the radio.

0102

CSO: 3104

KIK OFFICIAL WIELOWIEYSKI INTERVIEWED ON 'SOLIDARITY'

Rome CONQUISTE DEL LAVORO in Italian 17 Nov 80 pp 8-9

[Interview with Andrzej Wielowieyski, member of the Gdansk group of experts and general secretary of the KIK (Catholic Intellectual Group) of Warsaw, following the recognition of "Solidarity," in Warsaw, by C. Cassina and M. Irace.]

[Text] On Monday 10 November, the Supreme Court ruled to uphold the decision of the Warsaw court and grant recognition to "Solidarity." This means that the independent worker-run unions have won formal recognition. On Tuesday we spoke with Andrzej Wielowieyski, a member of the Gdansk experts group and of "Solidarity," as well as general secretary of the Catholic intellectuals' club, KIK.

Here is the text of the lengthy interview he gave us.

[Question] We are trying to arrive at a real understanding of what was at stake in the issue of granting recognition to "Solidarity," first in the Warsaw court and then in the Supreme Court ruling on appeal. What is the underlying, substantial significance of recognition?

[Answer] On the surface, the whole issue was a little bit absurd, because it looked like a squabble over words. At stake was some political formula asserting the leadership role of the Communist Party, the socialist system, and [Poland's] international alliances. Such an affirmation was -- perhaps with some reservations on the part of certain union members -- generally accepted by everybody. There were, however, some very profound reasons why a few words had become a casus belli, motivation strong enough to evoke a highly probable and quite possible strike. For the union leaders and, more important still, for millions of members -- right now we have between 7 and 8 million members -- it was absolutely clear that we could not accept tampering with the law on the part of the presiding judge of the Warsaw court. It was illegal interference, but this was not the problem so much as was the fact that by his interference he was trying to prove that he had some specific power over us. We are not out either to overthrow the system or to come to blows with the Communist Party (many of us, for that matter, are PZPR members), but we want it clearly understood that we are independent as a union.

That's why we went into negotiations, into the 31 October meeting, but even after that meeting there were still tensions and misunderstandings. The chairmen of the various regional committees acted as spokesmen for the workers' concerns. They told us: we are moderate people and we don't want to go on strike, but yesterday -- this was the Szczecin committee talking, and their leaders are very prudent men -- we voted, and the count showed two against a strike, 8 abstaining, and the rest, all of them, some 800 plant delegates, were in favor of a strike. And they voted that way even though they were aware of what a general strike is: a very serious challenge which is always a shock for the country and for the system.

The dilemma, as we saw it, was whether or not to lose everything we had won in the difficult weeks of the August strike. If we had given in on this issue we would have found ourselves giving a little more ground every day. The Supreme Court ruling was right and reasonable, and it carries enormous political weight. We must bear in mind, though, that here, too, what we got was a compromise: after lengthy negotiations with the Party leaders, while the Supreme Court was considering the question, the leaders of "Solidarity" decided to add, as an annex and not as an integral part of the Statute, a repetition of the first seven points in the Gdansk agreement concerning political issues. Further, while abandoning none of our principles, with this compromise we allowed the government to save a little bit of face and reaffirmed the validity of a pattern for negotiation that will prove important in the further negotiations -- and there are a lot of them -- that lie ahead of us.

[Question] Could you talk to us about the bargaining prospects that lie ahead for "Solidarity": what are your priorities there?

[Answer] There are some immediate problems: there is the matter of wages, above all the method of distributing the sums paid out for that purpose and also to bring prices back into line; there is the issue of the labor press and the mass media; there is the problem -- a vital one for the masses of workers -- of the food supply and hence of farm production; it is utterly clear to the workers that farm problems are a matter of utmost importance to the labor movement.

[Question] What line do you plan to take on the wage issue?

[Answer] In general, I think that the procedure we have proposed will be accepted: in this phase of transition prior to economic reform, the first thing to be done is to distribute the available money in such a way as to give more to those who have less and less to those who have more. After that there will be the problem of achieving greater fairness between the sectors, because there are some workers who earn far less than the rest: sanitary workers, for instance, postal workers, and teachers. If we manage to improve the position of the lowest-paid in relation to the highest-paid, if the government agrees to this, that will be real progress all round.

Economic Organization and Priorities

[Question] But does recognition for "Solidarity" also enable you to operate more effectively, as an organization?

[Answer] Here again, we face some grave problems and the government's attitude will be fundamental; in many cases, our regional committees still have no office space, and so it is hard for them to operate. As of today we have about 50 regional committees covering more than 15,000 shop organizations, rank-and-file committees: well, then, according to the Statute, we have to hold elections within 2 or 3 months, because all these committees are still interim organizations.

Then there is still another problem: the national leadership, which is a coordinating agency, is responsible too for coordinating collective bargaining contracts because if you are going to do a good job at collective bargaining you have to do it on a national basis; but as a rule, the real power, such as power over finances and certain administrative responsibilities, is vested in the regions. And here is the essential difference between us and the old unions: the old unions were a third instrument, along with the Party and the economic branches of government, for keeping the workers in line, and they were organized according to the logic of the economic system, meaning that their jurisdictions coincided with the boundaries of sectors of industry. And so they wound up being mere tools for the economic and political bureaucracy to manipulate.

The principle we work on, though, is regionalism, because in every region there is a factory or a group of factories that constitute the central core of the regional organizing network: the big plant is the powerhouse, so to speak, and if the coordinating committee for establishing the union is formed there, you have a guarantee that the little plants will fall into line too, and join it.

Hence the most important organizing work will be done at the regional level, but since some regions are very large -- with more than 1,000 plants -- the question might also arise of setting up substructures based on specific industries. Whatever happens, I hope that the regional organizing principle will stand the test of these 5 or 9 months until the congress may, if it sees fit, make changes in the Statute.

[Question] At the 31 October meeting, did you talk with the government about the issue of organized labor's press and information?

[Answer] Yes, and the government promised to give us permission to print a weekly with a press run of several hundred thousand copies, and also the possibility of publishing a few regional magazines, or of running regular columns in local papers. We are currently negotiating for access to the mass media -- television and radio: in some cities they are already setting up union-produced programs.

News about labor's problems -- and not only about them -- is very important, because by improving it we create more favorable conditions for dealing with macroeconomic issues as well: people ought to have adequate information made available to them, otherwise they wind up not believing anything they hear or read, neither the bragging propaganda of the system that used to be in style, nor the summons to seriousness -- which is real -- issued by the problems of today.

[Question] We know that the bargaining will be lengthy and demanding, but could you perhaps say something about what position "Solidarity" plans to take on the issues of economic reform?

[Answer] We want to be very cautious here, particularly if we are asked, as often happens, to assume responsibilities in the economic field. We are of course responsible in part for the nation's destinies because we are a powerful force, but we must, as organized workers, avoid getting involved in economic issues and possibly winding up like the old unions. People are afraid of this, and rightly so, because it is fatally easy for labor leaders to change, not into partners, but into tools for control, not so much at the economic level as at the labor level. In some regions there are still formidable problems with lack of confidence toward unions and their leaders. In Silesia, for instance, where a real class conflict has broken out, the conflict between workers and company management has been so acute and so painful that all union leaders are under a permanent cloud of suspicion of being opportunists or tools of the government. This is why we really must pay the utmost attention so we never lose the trust and confidence of the workers.

[Question] That means, then, that you will not be part of the economic reform commission?

[Answer] "Solidarity" was invited by the government to sit as a full partner on that commission, but after long discussion we decided that we would attend, but only as observers. We shall even voice our opinions, but we shall not be directly involved. Quite another matter, though, is that of the commission to draft the new organized labor law; that is a matter that directly concerns us, and there we shall speak out and directly assume our responsibilities.

When I say that we do not want to get involved with direct responsibilities in economic reform, I mean to say, too, that in facing this vitally important challenge, we are going to have to do some thinking as to the patterns of worker participation in plant management. Probably we shall have to deal with the problem of new legislation on workers' councils. There was a reform measure aimed at this passed in 1956, but it produced no tangible results and the bodies it set up died a natural death after a few years: the chairman of the plant council was always the plant CP secretary, and the council wound up as something neither democratic, nor effective, nor yet productive. What we shall be striving for now is to elect bodies made up of worker delegates who will work together with management, who will help in company planning, who will perhaps voice their opinions on the appointment of executives, on the hiring and on company discipline.

growth. The unions will monitor the activities of the councils, but the councils will not be made up wholly of union representatives. In any event, the plant council will be a structure designed from scratch, rather than a hodgepodge of ideas adapted from other countries' experiences with worker participation in management.

[Question] During this transition to economic reform, what analyses will you be making of the crisis, and toward what solutions will you be working?

[Answer] The underlying crisis was caused primarily by grave economic errors committed. Very serious imbalances have come about, particularly in the area of investments, which were made in much too rash a manner without taking the international situation into account; or, at least, the decision to channel investments in a different direction was made too late. Obviously there are also problems with trade, and in sales of our products in the West, part of which are due to the worldwide recession. But there are also some short-term problems. The very difficult and painful situation in agriculture, for one; and the dreadful state of the food market. All this may well lead to a very dangerous state of affairs: people are optimistic right now, but the time will come when they just won't take it any more, they will be furious, there will be more strikes, more demands that cannot be met because there is no money to meet them. We need to climb out of this crisis, we need to turn on the green light for more rapid development. That will be feasible with reform, and with broader freedom for enterprise, which must and will provide very soon -- within a year at most -- some truly significant results (as an expert group, we are sure of this).

But it will not be possible to pull out of the crisis, or even to put on the brakes and finally put an end to our economic decline without some foreign aid. We are interested primarily in a moratorium on payments on loans from foreign countries. Payments due on principal and interest on foreign loans will top three quarters of our revenues from exports of goods and services to Western or Third World markets. Given this situation, our industry simply cannot function, because we are unable to buy raw or semi-finished materials for our chemical and metallurgical industries.

There is no way to break out of this crisis without direct assistance based on reasonable exchange criteria. We have enough strength and enough resources, especially in our coal, our copper, and our well developed heavy industry, and we shall be able to pay later on; but for the next 2 years, particularly during this period during which we will be introducing economic reform, unless we have guarantees of outside help, from the West and from the East (the Soviet Union just recently promised to help us), we simply cannot make it.

The presence and the strength of our unions are helping the government to create a new climate of confidence, a belief that things can get better, but we stand to lose all that if in the next 6 months we do not manage to stop the worsening of the crisis, if we cannot prove

that we know the way out of it, if productivity does not grow, if the farm market is not in a little bit better shape, and so on.

So first of all we must postpone payment on our debts. Maybe we shall also have to rethink the conditions under which the loans were granted in the first place. New loans will cost a lot more than they did only 3 years ago. The interest rate then was running from 4 to 7 percent, and now it goes as high as 12 or 15 percent, particularly for short-term credit. And this is ridiculous, particularly when we remember that inflation affects the value of the loans themselves.

[Question] You mentioned a growth of worker confidence and a good deal more optimism since last summer's strikes. Is it proper, in your view, to speak of a resurgence of pluralism, of a more open confrontation of ideas, of "seeds of democracy starting to bear fruit?"

[Answer] We have to be careful how we use the word "pluralism," because -- particularly at the political level -- it must not be interpreted in the sense of Western parliamentary democracies, the more so in that our union is determined to be non-political, has no intention of getting into the political struggle or into the fight for power, but intends to confine itself to the union commitment.

At the same time, we must frankly admit that, obviously, it is a major political event for such a union to be permitted to exist. And it is clear that we did get the Gdansk agreements signed, in which there were several essentially political points, after a worker and union struggle. We managed to put an end to political repression, to extract a promise of change in the censorship laws, and to get access to the mass media for the Church. All these are things that do not directly affect the workers as such, but which we believed vitally important to the country's future. The idea of democracy and of democratization was very dear to them. They were fighting for a national cause.

Let's put these questions of political pluralism in the strict sense aside for a while. At other levels, too, for example the economy, you cannot talk of pluralism in a situation of socialization of the means of production, where the means of production belong to the state, to society as a whole, or are managed in a more or less centralist way. The problem that arises then is how -- in the economic reform we absolutely must push through -- to give more freedom to individual companies so they can manage production better; how to get rid of, wipe out this fat and suffocating bureaucracy that blocks every chance of economic growth. Yet in this case, too, it would be hard for me to talk of economic pluralism. Of course, there can be a degree of competitiveness, of rivalry among sectors of industry, or among companies, but that is not the same thing as the competitiveness you have in capitalist societies.

Culturally speaking, though, as to the cultural and ideological trend, this great working-class thrust, this reorientation that has taken place in Poland opens vast possibilities. We are looking, for instance,

toward the formation of a federation of all our country's artistic and scientific associations -- I believe there are around 15 or 19 different associations. And even in places where they were already adequately democratic, some of these associations now have chosen their own leaders, changed their structures, and are now bodies truly representative of their segments of society. Their very existence is a guarantee of enrichment in the life of the labor movement in our country.

Of course, this is due entirely to the workers' struggle and the Gdansk agreements. But let's get back to "pluralism."

Perhaps the term "democratization" is more accurate here. The outstanding feature of the system, up to now, was its iron-fisted nature. Everything was controlled: the head of a little state-owned plant or the teacher, or the head of a little school -- all were steered in everything they did by the "guidelines" elaborated and handed down by the Party's bureaucratic and hierarchical apparatus which manipulated them. The main thing now is that this is going to be changed in favor of an indispensable dialogue, which must be initiated. The political authority, which is the Communist Party, responsible for government, for economic management, for keeping the entire system running, can no longer command and control every single cell of our lives: the companies, the scientific associations, the schools, the unions. It can no longer do this directly, just by giving orders; it can only try to convince, to persuade, to engage in dialogue, to act indirectly through its members working inside the factories and businesses, inside the associations (and right there you have hundreds of thousands of Communist Party members). So you see it is an altogether different modus operandi, and hardlines for the old apparatus which will really have to change its style from top to bottom.

In the old days they were often feudal lords who behaved in very arbitrary fashion, and now there will be somebody watching them; they will have to engage in dialogue. The experience of negotiating, of bargaining, is altogether new, be it to the heads of corporations, to cabinet ministers, to the workers, or to the union delegates. As we experienced it at Gdansk, it was a shock, especially to the spokesmen for the establishment: to actually sit down at the bargaining table for the first time with people who had power, who were demanding something, and who would not give an inch.

This was a dazzling educational experience, a lesson in democracy, and a school for socialism, too, in my view. A great school in which to learn about a new kind of life in society for the people in positions of power, but also for the leaders of every independent body springing up in that society.

Among these there is also the major and still wide-open issue of farmers' autonomy, which is coming to pass albeit in different forms. "Solidarity" seeks to support the idea of a farmers' union based on its own principles. Thus far, the matter has not been settled. The government has not agreed to the establishment of such a union, taking

legal refuge in the Geneva Conventions and arguing that farmers, whatever else they may be, are basically small landholders. There are, however, even some government jurists who believe that the concept of a farmer-peasant union is thoroughly justified, because in actual fact the peasant-farmer's position vis-à-vis the government is the same as that of the workers: in a socialist society, the small farmer must contract with the state for the sale of what he produces, and the state is, to all intents and purposes, the only partner the peasant-farmer has.

The Intellectuals' Role

[Question] The work the group of experts performed side by side with the new unions seems to be indicative of a long-standing special interest among intellectuals in social, economic, and political issues. Would you tell us something about that?

[Answer] By comparison with the 1970 crisis, this time we were of course far better prepared: both the intellectuals and experts and the labor movement.

The democratic opposition worked very hard laying the groundwork for all this. In the field of economic analysis and policy thinking, a group like DIP (a group of intellectuals known as "Experience and the Future") made a crucial contribution with its reports on the state of the republic, and with its proposals for getting out of the economic and political crisis. We had expected a lot of things, but never the formidable power that materialized in this explosion of worker protest. Perhaps nobody could have foreseen it. Nobody did.

Now, though, we know where we stand. We have enough social and economic suggestions to get us out of the mess. I am proud, too, to be able to say that equally significant was the support provided to this intellectual and educational effort by Catholic circles, and by the Church itself with its pastoral centers, its youth centers, and even its centers for intellectuals. Here our effort to raise the consciousness of society as a whole, particularly that of the young, was efficacious. It is thanks to the work we did together that we shall be able to keep this confidence the workers have in us, and which we profited by during the days of the strike. They trusted us. Not only at Gdansk, but in Warsaw where the first strikes began. The first thing the workers did was to turn to the Catholic intellectuals' club, KIK, because they trusted the Catholic militants, and nobody else. They came asking for advice, asking at least for some human contact. And that is why we formed the Gdansk committee of experts, at Lech Walesa's request. We did it with ten members, five from KIK and five from the "Flying University," forming an ad hoc association giving science courses -- taught mainly by laymen, some of them Party members with liberal views. who, in this university, are working with Catholics.

[Question] What can Italian organized labor do for "Solidarity" and for the Polish workers? You know how eagerly we have followed everything that happened here this summer...?

[Answer] I must confess that I am perhaps not too surprised, but certainly very happy to find that people are aware here, that they are fully informed as to what is happening in my country. There is not merely friendship, but a good grasp of the basic issues in our problems. What we need most of all is your understanding, contacts with you, perhaps even an exchange of experience -- especially when it comes to union organizing and mounting labor activities. For that matter, we already have that kind of help. From our friends in various Western labor organizations we have received a lot of material, a lot of written suggestions on union organization, statutes, and experience.

I don't think we are going to need financial help. If the organization works, the union's own funds will be quite sufficient. The problem will be rather whether or not we organize right. We might, though, need your help on some very practical matters: we need printing presses, and we need photocopiers, for example. We have already received some from the West, and the government just recently eased the customs restrictions. These machines can help us a lot in publishing our bulletins and newspapers. We might have a problem with paper, too, which is in short supply in Poland.

It may be that we shall need special equipment like amplifiers and microphones. There are plenty of pretexts for charging us with being counter-revolutionaries, for saying that we pose a threat to our neighbors and to the whole communist bloc. There is no need to give them more. Some people wanted to give us direct financial aid, but that might really have provided fuel for a scandal, and at a time when truly we do not need that kind of help. I don't think, though, that it would give scandal were we to have a good microphone, an amplifier, or some paper.

6182

CS0: 3104

POLAND

GOVERNMENT TELLS FOUR SWEDISH CORRESPONDENTS TO LEAVE

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 10 Dec 80 p 11

[Article by Anders Ohman]

[Text] Four of TV-2's special correspondents in Poland have been declared "undesirable" by the Polish authorities and requested to leave the country within 24 hours.

The TV-2 team, led by Rolf Kandell, were in the Polish town of Kielce on Monday to take films of the workers at the Iskra factory, when they were apprehended by the police and asked to leave the country.

The [Swedish] Foreign Ministry stated on Tuesday evening that the decision of the Polish authorities is provisional and the Foreign Ministry is working to have it lifted.

The four correspondents are part of the TV team sent out by TV-2's "Report" program. The team includes producer Rolf Kandell, photographer Stig Nygren and Ola Wessman and Jan Angantyr.

The four have been in Poland since 27 November. On Monday the team was in the Polish town of Kielce to take films of the Iskra factory. It is this factory which the Russian news agency TASS pinpointed in its most severe attack to date on Polish trade union "solidarity."

Interrogated

According to Olle Stenholm, foreign operations chief at "Report," the four were going to take films of the workers at the Iskra factory when the evening shift ended at 2200 Monday evening.

While they were waiting they took pictures of the street life in the city. Then they were stopped by the police and taken to a station for interrogation.

"They were told that they were no longer wanted in Poland and asked to leave Poland within 24 hours. They did not have to give up any film," Olle Stenholm said.

The four drove by car from Kielce to Warsaw, where they arrived early Tuesday morning. They contacted their home office and the Swedish embassy immediately.

"If the Polish authorities do not change their position, Rolf Kandell will fly home on Wednesday and the others will drive to the Polish border. The decision of the Polish authorities involves only these four correspondents, and not Sveriges Radio AB," Olle Stenholm said.

"Report" correspondent Rolf Soderberg is in Poland. From the beginning it was planned that he would replace Rolf Kandell. He is not affected by the decision of the Polish authorities.

6893

CSO: 3109

INTELLECTUALS' APPEAL FOR FREE TRADE UNIONS NOTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Aug 80 p 4

[Text] The appeal made on Wednesday, 20 August, by 62 intellectuals in Warsaw proclaims the following: "Once again, it has become apparent that one cannot govern the Polish people if one does not heed their voices. With maturity and determination, Polish workers are now fighting for their rights and the right of all of us to a better, more dignified life. In this fight, the entire progressive intelligentsia is on their side.

"Henceforth, everything will depend on the path chosen to emerge from the current situation. We call on the political government and the striking workers to choose the path of discussion, the path of compromise. No one has the right to risk the country's fate or to casually let slip the hope of a better future. No one has the right to resort to any illegal or violent act or to the use of force. There can be no repetition of the tragedy of 10 years ago. There can be no new bloodshed.

"The supreme requirement of government reason now consists in immediately beginning talks between the government commission and the strike committee elected by factory workers in cities on the coast. There cannot be a single hour of delay that might result in irreversible menacing events. In addition to an examination of the material demands and a guarantee of security for all those participating in the strikes, it is indispensable to recognize the right of the workers to set up authentic trade union representations through elections. Freedom of trade union association without outside interference is a fundamental right of workers that must be respected in any social system.

"In warding off the most dangerous effects of the situation created, one cannot delay the presentation to the entire population of complete information on the state of the country, the opening of authentic national discussion and the creation of conditions for a united search for the means of renewal.

"In order to emerge from the current crisis, it is necessary to abandon schemes tending to consider any demand for political reform indispensable as contrary to state reason and threatening the foundations of the regime."

The text was signed by: Stefan Amsterdamski, philosopher; Nina Asserodebraj, sociology professor; Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, historian; Wladyslaw Bienkowski, sociologist; Maryan Brandys, writer; Roman Bratny, writer; Anatol Brzoza, economics

professor; Bogdan Cywinski, historian; Kazimierz Dziewanowski, journalist; Maria Dziewicka, economist; Wacław Gajewski, biology professor; Jan Garawicz, philosopher; Bronisław Geremek, historian; Aleksander Gieysztor, history professor; Michał Glowinski, professor of history of literature; Jan Gorski, historian; Barbara Brachulska, historian; Artur Hajnicz, journalist; Anna Hochfeldowa, philosopher; Maryla Hopfinger, historian; Szymon Jakubowicz, economist; Maria Janion, professor of the history of literature; Jerzy Jiedlicki, historian; Anna Kamienska, writer; Adam Kersten, professor of history; Stefan Kieniewicz, history professor; Andrzej Kijowski, writer; Tadeusz Konwicki, writer; Tadeusz Kowalik, economist (whose residence was searched); Andrzej Krasinski, journalist; Martin Krol, historian; Waldemar Kuczynski, economist; Witold Kula, history professor; Jacek Kurczewski, sociologist; Zdzisław Lapinski, historian; Tadeusz Lepkowski, history professor; Marian Malowist, history professor; Tadeusz Mazowiecki, journalist; Artur Miedzyrzecki, writer; Stella Niemierko, biochemistry professor; Włodzimierz Niemierko, biochemistry professor; Wisła Pankiewidz, sociologist; Jacek Salij; Zygmunt Skorzynski, sociologist; Jan Strzelecki, sociologist; Barbara Szacka, sociologist; Jerzy Szaniawski, philosophy professor; Alina Szeminska, psychologist; Zdzisław Sztakowski, historian; Paweł Spiewak, sociologist; Andrzej Świecicki, professor of sociology; Jan Turnau, journalist; Jacek Wejroch, journalist; Wojciech Wieczorek, journalist; Eugeniusz Wierzbicki, architect; Zbigniew Wierzbicki, sociologist professor; Kazimierz Woycieński, journalist; Włodzimierz Zawadzki, physics professor; Jerzy Zielenski; Stefan Zolkiewski, professor of the history of literature; and Juliusz Zulański, writer.

11,464

CSO: 3100

PROFILE OF POLISH STRIKERS ANALYZED

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 23 Sep 80 p 9

[Article by special correspondent Jacques Estager: "POLAND: A Society That Is Asking To Be Treated Like an Adult; The New Working Class and Young People Are the Origin of the Strike Movements"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 September--The strikes of July and August revealed not only the position of the working class in Polish society but also the importance of young people and of the new layers of society which have come from the countryside, which have been integrated into urban life for only a short time and have been working in factories only a few years. When you look over the list of strikes, you realize that in most cases young people and this new working class were the origin of the movement and its consolidation.

This was known already with regard to Gdansk, where the "Lenin" shipyard, the interenterprise strike committee's citadel, has a majority of young people among its 15,000 workers. But you see the same phenomenon in Upper Silesia, where strikes hit mainly the new Rybnik mineral basin where about 10 large pits have been put into operation since 1970 with a young workforce recruited from all over the country.

These newcomers, strangers to the region and to the mining brotherhood, have to serve their apprenticeship and adapt to a new community in material conditions which are often difficult precisely because of how great the migrations of people are which the activity of accelerated industrialization has caused these last few years. On the other hand, the old mineral basin, which has carried on traditions of revolutionary struggle for more than a century, the area of Sosnowiec, Dabrowa Gornicza and Zabrze, has remained outside the movement.

In the iron and steel industry the Katowice Iron and Steel Works was to be found in the forefront of the strike with its 30,000 industrial workers and construction workers, recruited from all of rural Poland, for the most part young people grappling with difficult problems of adaptation on a giant work site which looks like an industrial Far West setting.

There was strike action in the new Mielec aircraft industrial concern, in the new Glogow copper basin, and in the new Bielsko Biala automobile industry but few or no strikes in old established industrial centers like Lodz, Poznan, Warsaw and

Cracow. This does not in any way mean that the working class as a whole might not have agreed with the strike movement which impacted on around 1 million workers and 800 enterprises out of a workforce of 10 million. Quite the contrary; the 21 demands of Gdansk expressed the basic aspirations of the working world and the real needs of Polish society which neither the unions nor the party had rightly taken into account. But a split has appeared regarding forms of struggle and goals between the longer established working class, which is more aware of the already considerable gains of socialism, and the young working class, more assertive, more critical, more demanding, simultaneously making new demands linked to the current level of Poland's development and occasionally excessive demands, totally unrealistic with regard to the country's present situation.

Gains and New Needs

This is the impatience of a new generation born and raised in socialist society, a society which guarantees it educational and professional advancement, work, security for the future; a society in which appetites are sharpened at the same time by what is lacking and by the gains which are already considerable ones.

This is the impatience which arises from the exasperation caused by certain shortcomings which have a particular impact on young people. This is the impatience of a generation which asks a great deal of the socialist state but does not always take into account that material progress depends on its own work and its taking part in expanding production.

What is this new working class which counts for so much at the present time? The Poland which had 3 million workers in 1950 has 10 million today, three-quarters of whom work in enterprises which employ more than a thousand people. This 1980 working class represents more than half of the Polish working population and its main characteristic is its youth: youth as far as age is concerned, and youth in social terms. Indeed, one-third of the workers in industry are less than 20 years old and one-half of the factory workers have been in their occupation for less than 10 years. Industrialization brought about by socialism has upset Poland's social structures, leading to a large increase in the working class and in the number of engineers, technicians and middle-management people.

In 1930 the Polish population consisted of three-quarters peasants and one-quarter workers. In 1980 it includes 30 percent workers, one-quarter ITC [engineers, technicians and middle-management people] and one-quarter peasants. These profound transformations have been taking place through the 35 years the Polish People's Republic has existed. However, they have speeded up and become magnified in the course of the last decade.

By doubling its industrial capacity between 1972 and 1978 Poland created 3 million new jobs added to which are jobs freed up by retirements. Millions of young people who have started working since 1970 lived in the countryside until the age of 14. They came from peasant families strongly marked by Polish Catholic tradition. They started to work in factories in the best years of the decade, when real wages were increasing by 15 percent a year, when socialism could appear to be problem-free and to be able to guarantee a steady increase in the standard of living. The "talk of success" fed these illusions.

When economic policy brought about the rude awakening of the years 1976-1978, when the gulf between official rhetoric and the reality of inflation eating away at purchasing power became apparent, and when industrial advance was shown to be ineffective in doing something about the problems of daily life, this young working class felt the impact severely. All the more so since its criticisms, its demands and its aspirations fell on deaf ears, and because it felt the effects of the roadblocks of democracy more keenly than its elders did.

Raised to honor society's institutions of self-government, it discovered too many limits and too much of a brake on the exercise of self-government.

Throughout these last few weeks we have run into old activists of the worker movement who deplore the strikes and express their pride in the Poland of today. To measure the road which has been travelled they are prone to recall pre-war Poland with its 6 million unemployed, massive emigration, a Poland of workers without work and of peasants without land. But the reminder of this past hardly stirs most people up any more. Today's Polish society makes less and less reference to pre-war or immediate post-war living conditions. The comparison made with these periods actually leaves the new generation indifferent. What counts is everyday matters and what has been actually lived through.

The post-war generation raised Poland from its ruins at the cost of hard work and many sacrifices. Now this period seems far-off. Nowadays the name of the game is living in the present and living better and better. People expect from socialism a standard of living, a more egalitarian society, working-class power in factories, and effective citizen participation in decision-making. Also in that regard changes in the ways society is structured and in mentalities call for changes in political structures and in the way government works. A film of Wajda's described the realities of the period of the "Man of Marble": at that time Poland, deeply torn asunder, was coming out of a civil war which from 1945 to 1948 caused more than 60,000 deaths. It provided itself at that time with rigid and restricting political structures inspired by the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These structures are still a heavy burden on the present despite the changes and adjustment made by a new constitution in 1976. And today's Poland has also undergone great change politically.

With a working class in the majority and an intelligentsia for the greatest part coming from the working class, the political preference for socialism is pretty much dominant in society including among Catholic opinion. We are dealing with a new society which is better educated, more open and more tolerant; a critical society in which public opinion is alert and plays a large role; a society that is asking to be treated like an adult, which simultaneously rejects propaganda inherited from anybody else's policy and rejects paternalist talk, which demands a less restricted information flow and broader chances for expression. This society, whose outstanding characteristic is, as is that of its working class, its youth, is formulating the problems of democracy and socialism in new terms.

Reasonable Optimism

The greatest requirement imposed by these problems is the genuine exercise of self-government at all levels of political, economic and social life. There is no doubt that the path for achieving that is strait and narrow, that the present situation is serious, and that everyone does not always realize that.

Thus, it is felt that there are still party cadres who underestimate the seriousness of the disputes between the party and public opinion.

In the working class, demonstrations of impatience still prevail too often over awareness of the co-responsibility needed in the implementation of the Gdansk agreement and in putting the necessary changes into practice. For their part, the party and the government have decided to speak frankly and truthfully. That is the gist of the recent speeches made by Mieczyslaw Jagielski, the Gdansk negotiator, and by Stefan Olazowski, the new man in charge of economic problems in the Politburo. However, in spite of the uncertainties of the present, and although there are still a number of question marks, many Poles appear reasonably optimistic about the chances and potential for their country to be responsive during the 1980s to the great aspirations expressed because of the current crisis and which move in the direction of increasing socialist democracy.

The representatives of 33 independent unions, which were started up following the agreements signed on 31 August in Gdansk between the government and the striking shipyard workers, decided to create a single union federation.

9631

CSO: 3100

FRENCH JOURNALIST COMMENTS ON 'POLISH SUMMER'

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Jean Elleinstein: "The Polish Summer"]

[Text] What is happening in El Salvador, South Korea or Bolivia makes us justifiably indignant. Faced with growing difficulties, imperialism resorts to increasingly bloody methods of terror against militant workers, peasants and intellectuals. The examples of Argentina and Chile are systematically spreading. It is definitely a question of a new strategy set up against the liberation movement of the peoples of Central America, South America, Asia, even Africa. In Poland, it is quite another matter, but what is happening is of considerable historic importance. Thirty-five years after the end of World War II and the birth of "socialist" Poland, a workers' movement is being set up under totally new historic conditions, on the basis of the collective ownership of means of production and trade, in a country claiming to be socialistic.

It is not a classic movement of intellectuals with which we are dealing or a spontaneous action of workers facing diverse economic or social difficulties. The demands of the Polish workers have to do with economic and social problems and basic questions of the right to strike, trade union freedom, freedom of the press. They can take credit for emphasizing the major question of socialism, that of democracy. By claiming their right, the Polish workers are not questioning Poland's system of ownership, but rather, economic management, bureaucratic domination and the rejection of political democracy. To speak about antisocialist elements in connection with them is obviously to recognize that the "real socialism" is not truly socialist because it rejects political democracy.

The Polish authorities have thus far had the merit of not using direct repression against the workers, unlike in the case of Gdansk in 1970, but this is not enough. The distinction between trade union, social and political struggles is rather strange on the part of Marxist leaders. It is true that to accept the right to strike, trade union freedom and freedom of the press in Poland would be to threaten the political system existing in the USSR and other countries of the type, and from this standpoint, the Polish strikers constitute a formidable precedent which the Soviet authorities, considering what they are, quite rightly must fear. What is true in Poland is even truer in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and so on.

Implacable Logic

Democracy has an implacable logic. In a recent article, Gerard Molina (LE MONDE, 17-18 August) quite rightly observed that this movement poses the French communist leaders with formidable problems because their own contradictions are exposed. While they do not disapprove of the strikers, they are at the same time brought to support Gierk. However, the latter uses the traditional methods of management and the government in France: dividing the strikers, denouncing the strikes as political, emphasizing the economic cost of the strikes.... One has the impression that one is hearing the arguments used in France by the government and the CNPF [National Council of French Employers]. But there is one difference: In France, the right to strike has existed since 1864, trade union freedom since 1884, freedom of the press since 1881. These freedoms are workers' conquests and it is thanks to the workers' organizations that they subsist. This is true, but they exist *de jure* and *de facto*. In Poland, they neither exist *de jure* nor *de facto*. That is why the Polish workers are demanding them and they are right to do so. To say so clearly and firmly would not drive Billancourt to despair. On the contrary, it would provide reasons for hope. When, at the 22d Congress of the French Communist Party, Georges Marchais said that democracy is the means and purpose of socialism, he was right. What was true in 1976 is even more so today. Alas! One hundred times alas! It is he and the leadership of the French Communist Party who have now abandoned the terrain of political democracy. Indeed, dear Piterman, one must dot all the i's. But the leadership of the French Communist Party does precisely the opposite. After approving the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, it now supports Gierk, aiming its main criticism at Francois Mitterrand! As if the attitude of a given socialist leader in 1956, 24 years ago, were the question now! The fact that they may have been wrong about Algeria and Suez then does not necessarily make them wrong today. Let us cease this absurd and dangerous game that drives Billancourt to despair and makes Elysee rejoice.

There exists in the French Communist Party a powerful democratic current made up of highly diverse elements. The fact that it is not organized — deliberately so — prevents its existence from being perceived by outside observers. But it does exist, even if this displeases many who are satisfied with a pro-Soviet, anti-unity Communist Party that is antidemocratic in its internal workings. The solidarity of the French communists with Polish strikers must be expressed with political clarity and independence vis-a-vis the Polish Government and the Polish Workers Party.

Every bit as much as the Prague spring, the Polish summer constitutes a reason to hope for the entire European left. Whatever the immediate future of this movement, it heralds new times not confined to Poland, but which will first of all affect the Soviet Union itself, and no one will be able to put an end to this movement because it is the profound expression of the feelings of an entire people. The strikers, the Polish intellectuals, have an acute sense of their responsibilities and the possibilities afforded them by a difficult geopolitical situation. The Soviets do not need to invade Poland; they already occupy it. The crux of the matter is knowing whether they will intervene against the strikers. They will assuredly do so if the Polish leaders are not able to put an end to strikes which are a formidable example for the entire Soviet world and those close to the Soviet Union.

Let us therefore express our solidarity with the Polish workers. Excusing himself for not being able to attend the anniversary of the 1830 Polish uprising against Russia, Marx wrote the following to Piotr Lavrov on 3 December 1875: "The emancipation of Poland is one of the conditions for the emancipation of the working class in Europe." On 4 December 1875, Engels ended his message to Wroblewski, an old Parisian Communard of Polish origin, with these words: "Long live Poland!" The words are now more relevant than ever.

11,464

CSO: 3100

UNDERGROUND PUBLISHER CHOJECKI ON EASING OF CENSORSHIP

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 10 Dec 80 p 3

[Article by Bengt Holmqvist]

[Text] "In principle," says Miroslaw Chojecki thoughtfully, "I am not sitting here in Stockholm right now. In principle I am in prison at home in Poland.

"But in Poland," he adds, "principles and reality have recently slipped away from each other. Fantastic things have occurred. And they have taken place outside all principles, doctrines and laws."

A few months ago it would have sounded like a bad joke if any one had predicted that Miroslaw Chojecki, head of the underground publishing house, Nowa, would come to Sweden in December as an honored guest.

Now he is here, however, at the express wish of Nobel prize winner Czeslaw Milosz. No less than seven of his--officially prohibited--books have been published by Nowa in recent years.

Stanislaw Baranczak, perhaps the most outstanding of Poland's young poets, is also a member of the circle of Milosz's personal guests.

His presence is no less sensational. To be sure, he does not have a prison sentence hanging over him. But for several years he was under a professional publishing and travel ban.

He was forced out of his position as docent at the University of Poznan by police provocations. He did not have the slightest chance to follow up on a call from Harvard.

"But now," he relates, "uncle policeman is behaving like a little angel. I did not even have to ask for a passport. It was the police who eagerly contacted me and were eager to arrange the matter, to please in every conceivable way."

An upside-down world--or at least a properly oriented world. But Baranczak, just as Chojecki, harbors no illusions about any real change of mind among those in power. They don't know whether they're coming or going, surprised by an explosive development about which they blindly did not have an inkling.

Baranczak and Chojecki belong to the generation which was in their twenties during the student revolt in 1968.

The events of that time were decisive for them both, as well as for many others: a confirmation that the system was not only burdened with a number of mistakes and shortcomings but was rotten to the core, built on lies and fraud.

"I had certain illusions regarding communism," Baranczak says. "I thought I saw something promising at least in the young Marx. But then the big task became to fight with all means available against the false teachings, to undermine the language of power which was only suitable for distorting or concealing reality."

Baranczak mentions with gratitude George Orwell and semantic, analytical linguistic philosophy. There was something there to link up with, methods to expose the false myths.

He had made his poetic debut as a 19-year-old, but only in the beginning of the seventies was he completely certain about his new direction: the poetry of suspicion which in every situation raises up the individual voice and the concrete observation against the nameless abstractions of demagoguery.

Baranczak became a central figure in the literature of the young which was summed up under the designation "Generation 70." But he encountered rapidly growing opposition from the censors, and it is not far from the offices of the censors to the secret police.

Chojecki took another path. He was a scientist, a chemist, destined for an ideologically neutral existence as an expert.

"I did my job without the slightest hope that the misrule could be broken at any time. Even when the KOR, the Committee for the Defense of Workers, was organized after the brutally suppressed strikes in the summer of 1976, I regarded it only as a final protest, a desperate symbolic act.

"But then I had reason to reconsider the matter. It was a year later. The KOR showed that despite everything it was possible to induce the authorities to make concessions. It felt like a great deliverance, it opened up a wholly new perspective."

Chojecki put himself at the disposal of the KOR. He took charge of Nowa, its recently established "unofficial" publishing house.

He quickly lost his research job. He became acquainted with the repressive machinery and felt its full weight: arbitrary loss of freedom, mistreatment at the police station, an endless array of badgering and insults.

He held out; he had found something to live for. The successes were greater than anyone could have anticipated, unparalleled in the history of "samizdat" production.

But how has it gone recently, when so many barriers have fallen and Milosz can appear in the open peacefully?

No Competition

"It has been better than ever," Chojecki replies. "I have been left in peace since the end of August, as if the conviction from last summer did not exist. And there

is no question of any competition from the official publishing houses; too many of our books are all too controversial for them.

"In October we were able to celebrate an anniversary. We had reached the 100th title in our catalog. Now the number is already up to 114, and the demand for many titles is greater than the supply. The mass media no longer conceals our existence. We get calls and orders from many people who previously did not know we existed."

A remaining problem is the severely limited supply of paper. In itself it would be reasonable to increase the circulation of the publishing house's periodicals, for example. The most important of them, "Zapis," is published in 3,000 copies. If more are printed, the production of books is inevitably affected.

Chojewski consoles himself with the fact that each copy has several readers.

"The People are Fantastic"

Neither he nor Baranczak has any exaggerated ideas about the possibilities for basically changing the political institutions in Poland. What is new and promising is the discovery that one can do something by the side of the central power.

Let the party try to take care of the politics, the people will take care of the rest in their own way. The people are fantastic.

"The poet today," says Baranczak, "cannot be a prophet figure who thinks he knows more than the people and who considers it natural to speak from some high platform. The poet has a special role in calling matters and things by their right name. That is his real task, and today it is perhaps more important than ever."

In this regard Czeslaw Milosz is seen as a pathfinder and example by his younger countrymen. A poet who without a lot of fuss has found his way toward fresh, pure words. A poet who also speaks simply and directly about the terrible complexities of our time.

6893

CSO: 3109

CIVIL DEFENSE PRINCIPLES, EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMS PRESENTED

Definition, Goals and Organization

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 44, 2 Nov 80 p 20

[Text] The times when war was a matter of concern for the armed forces alone are long past; modern wars--particularly offensives--are carried on by whole nations. This was the case during World War II, especially in such countries as Poland, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, in which the battle against the invaders was a matter for the whole nation.

After 1945 there was a rapid development of armaments of mass attack, particularly nuclear armaments, while modern aeronautics and missiles can transport these armaments to any point on the globe. These new weapons have obliterated the boundary between the front, where the regular army fights, and the relatively peaceful home front; all are threatened (under certain conditions civilians are more threatened than the army).

Thus, if we wish to repulse a probable aggressor and protect the nation from biological extermination, then the issue of defense must be an issue for all--for the state administration, for the economy and for every citizen. It was on the basis of such assumptions that the defense system of our country was constructed.

The defense forces of the Polish People's Republic, which will fight on the external front together with the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact nations in the event of an armed conflict, play a special role in this system. The effectiveness of this operation will depend on the functioning of the state administration, transport, industry, communications and the like, i.e., it will depend on the home front--a front which will be attacked and which must defend itself and eliminate the consequences of war-time destruction. For this reason civil defense assumes tremendous significance in the defense system.

Civil defense does not exist among us alone; there are few countries at the present time which do not have such a system, constantly being improved.

Before we attempt to define civil defense more precisely, let us take a look at the history of civil defense.

Civil defense is not an invention of our times; its beginnings hark back to the years before World War II and during the war it functioned in practically all of the countries involved in the war. After 1945 it underwent particular development. A

reason for this was the above-mentioned appearance of weapons of mass destruction. However, this was not the only reason. An added cause was the threatened condition of civilization due to catastrophes in communication, accidents in factories, poisoning by chemical agents and the like.

In this way civil defense was born of necessity. It arose as an organization bringing assistance and a means of rescue, as a force protecting the life and property of man from the consequences of war and every sort of cataclysm. It may be said that civil defense is rooted in the same idea as engendered the founding of the Red Cross--the idea of assisting man in danger.

In Poland civil defense has been in existence for over a half century. It may be divided into five periods:

--the interwar period, or the period of so-called passive anti-aircraft defense, which arose out of social initiative and was sanctioned by the appointment of the Air Defense and Anti-Gas League;

--the war period, when on one hand civil defense in its prewar form underwent a severe trial, and on the other hand it assumed the shape of collective self-defense against Hitler's attempt at annihilation;

--the local Anti-Aircraft Defense period initiated by a Sejm resolution from 1951 appointing the Local Anti-Aircraft Defense League (TOPL);

--the period of universal self-defense from 1966 to 1973;

--the period after 1973, during which the present system of civil defense was developed on the basis of our experiences up to that time.

Now the question: what is civil defense? The encyclopedia tells us that "civil defense is a composite part of the defense system of the Polish People's Republic." More information may be gained from the resolution concerning the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic (passed by the Sejm in 1967 and amended in 1979). Article 144 of this resolution follows:

"The purpose of civil defense is to protect the populace, places of work and equipment for public use, and cultural values; to rescue and offer assistance to victims of war; and to cooperate in combatting natural disasters and eliminating their consequences."

This single article states almost everything about both the purposes and character of our civil defense. These are its most important features:

--The first is the already noted humanitarian character of our civil defense, which protects and rescues man and his property.

--The second is its defensive nature. Aggressive goals are foreign to civil defense; its whole operation is subordinated exclusively to defense--civil defense forces threaten no one.

--The third is its universality. All are menaced by the consequences of wartime activities; we are all equal in the face of other cataclysms; misfortune is not selective. If this is the case, we must all participate in preparedness for defense.

--The fourth is its comprehensiveness. War and other cataclysms expose man to many dangers. If we take this into consideration, civil defense must include resistance against various kinds of threats.

The tasks of civil defense may be divided into several groups. The most important of these are tasks linked to the protection of the populace. They are: warning of a coming danger, providing people with individual means of protecting the air passages, eyes and skin, preparing protective structures (permanent and temporary) and sheltering people in these structures, providing for the blackout of cities, hamlets, villages and industrial plants, dispersing people and evacuating industrial plants.

Another group of civil defense tasks is the protection of food, pasture, waters and livestock, which is also tied to the protection of human life. This entails protecting food, waters and pastures against radioactive and chemical contamination, health-epidemiological inspection, disinfection, the protection of animals by sheltering them in protective quarters, carrying out veterinary measures and the like.

The third group of tasks is the protection of places of work, raw materials and products, as well as articles of cultural value. These include endeavors for guaranteeing the continuity of production, which is indispensable to the state and society. The endeavors of civil defense in this domain include: the spatial arrangement of plants, the stronger construction of the more important industrial installations, the dispersal of raw materials storage, external and internal blackout, the dispersal of cadres and the preparation of protective shelters for them.

Another group of civil defense tasks is in conjunction with the carrying out of rescue and damage repair efforts, both in the event of wartime activities and because of natural disasters, catastrophes, industrial accidents and the like.

Rescue efforts include giving help to the wounded, to those contaminated by radioactive and chemical agents, and to those infected with pathogenic microbes; putting out fires and saving people from burning buildings; rescuing those buried in rubble; carrying out special measures (sanitary measures, deactivation, decontamination, disinfection and the like). For the purpose of implementing these efforts, civil defense forces are developing special equipment, such as first aid stations and health care stations, decontamination baths, stations for veterinary care and equipment for decontaminating public transportation.

Damage repair efforts include reinforcing structures or razing buildings which are a menace to people, repairing power lines, gas lines and water pipelines and rendering toxic agents and combustible and flammable agents harmless.

The organizational structure of civil defense is not a separate system, but an inseparable part of the administrative structure of the country. The above-mentioned resolution concerning the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic states:

"Civil defense systems are the fundamental organizational units for executing the tasks of civil defense.

"Civil defense systems are set up by ministers, governors, heads of communal governments and plant directors. These systems may also be created by the chief officers of social organizations, as well as other officials authorized by the Council of Ministers." (article 145, sections 1 and 3)

From this we learn that, from an organizational standpoint, civil defense is adapted for the base on which it develops, it is organized and operates where people live and work. This type of development has the following advantages: first, it facilitates the coordination of civil defense tasks within the whole picture of the socioeconomic life of the country; second, it makes the creation of separate civil defense institutions unnecessary, since it is administered by the directors of the administration and by plant managers.

Therefore, for example, governors administer civil defense in voivodships, and managers administer it in cities, quarters and rural communes. At the same time as they discharge their administrative functions, they are the heads of civil defense in their areas. During peacetime they plan the implementation of civil defense tasks, administer training, and make use of the forces and resources of civil defense to battle natural disasters; in the situation of war their task will be to direct civil defense systems, disperse the populace, carry out rescue operations and the like.

In the organization of civil defense the fact that in the event of war civil defense will cooperate with our armed forces has also been taken into consideration. For this reason, the above-cited Sejm resolution proposes that the minister of national defense act as the general director in matters of service in civil defense and exercise the general supervision of the implementation of civil defense tasks. The chief of domestic civil defense is also subject to his authority.

The purpose of our "lesson" has been merely to orient readers concerning the subject of civil defense. Of necessity, we must limit ourselves to a few topics, treating these only in a general way. Those interested in the subject, particularly teachers of Defense Preparedness (PO) should refer to the amended resolution concerning the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic, which has an extensive section devoted to issues of civil defense. The complete text of the resolution was published in DZIENNIK USTAW, No 18, dated 6 August, 1979.

We will turn again to several issues in conjunction with civil defense.

Stimulation of Young People's Interest

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 10, Oct 80 pp 5-6

[Article by Dr Stefan Fidyk, PhD in engineering]

[Text] Questions of civil defense represent the major part of the topics of defense preparedness studied in schools. The implementation of a program of defense preparedness should contribute to:

--engineering patriotism among youth;

--convincing students about the necessity of implementing tasks related to the defense preparedness of the nation;

--helping students to master basic tasks in the area of individual and collective self-defense;

--preparing students to execute auxiliary tasks within the framework of civil defense;
--the psychic and ideological preparation for the fulfillment of military service and the popularization of sports disciplines which have defense use.

The task of civil defense in the schools is to prepare the youth to take the appropriate action in the event of impending danger or war. This demands such pedagogical effectiveness as will guarantee the achievement of lasting didactic and educational results. This is possible if, in his didactic work, the teacher of defense preparedness proceeds according to psychologically sound principles of teaching and learning. The results of many pedagogical studies convince us that broad influence on students in the teaching-training process produces learning results which are profound and lasting.

A fundamental condition for the active participation of students in the process of implementing a defense preparedness program is to convince them of the need and effectiveness of the civil defense measures which have been undertaken in our country.

The teaching experiences of many Defense Preparedness (PO) teachers show that influencing our young people, not only during defense preparedness classes, is vital. An atmosphere fostering the study of civil defense issues and the mastering of all the activities which have the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of civil defense preparedness should reign in the schools.

Awakening the interest of youth in defense preparedness, and particularly in questions of civil defense, is a basic factor spurring the creation of a positive atmosphere.

To be interested in a subject is to be ready to deal with it intellectually and to be inclined to execute specific activities. This is the psychic state necessary for the undertaking of directed activity, in this case in the field of civil defense.

How are we to arouse and develop interest in the problems of civil defense in school?

Work with the pedagogical cadre. The teacher of defense preparedness, who is an ambassador and spokesman for civil defense in the schools, should integrate the efforts of the whole teaching staff toward this end. Teachers at all learning centers must have taken basic civil defense training. Consequently, there should be no particular difficulties or obstacles to spending a certain amount of time at pedagogical council meetings in a discussion of matters of civil defense, and to transmitting the proposals made there to the various organizations and circles of student interest. Winning over the faculty to matters of defense preparedness is a necessary condition for exerting broad influence on our youth.

The teacher of defense preparedness is in charge of the work of the school's circle of the National Defense League (LOK). The skillful exploitation of a well-working inner group of actives is a natural way of extending the subject of defense preparedness into after-school hours and of influencing the activity of youth outside school walls. The LOK circle has broad possibilities for presenting issues of civil defense as they are envisioned by the youth. These issues may be to some degree tested in practical activity during sports spectacles of a self-defense nature. This creates an atmosphere of the close involvement of the youth themselves with the questions of civil defense. In this way the LOK in the school is a natural, somewhat institutional representative of civil defense in the school environment.

The work of the school circle of the Polish Red Cross (PCK), is an immeasurably important educational argument upholding the need for the defense training of youth. During first aid training it is particularly easy and convincing to demonstrate the value of endeavors undertaken by civil defense for the preservation of the life and health of citizens.

It must be demonstrated in this activity that first aid training and the work of the school circle of the PCK ought to be viewed in the light of civil defense. The task of the director of the school, the person in charge of the PCK circle and the teacher of PO is to present such a position before the school council as to make the activity of the PCK in the school an argument for the need to prepare society for defense and proof of the fact that the self-help and the mutual help of people during wartime depends on this. School scout troops to a very significant degree participate in preparing youth for self-defense. While the PO teacher should not interfere in the internal affairs of the troop or the tribe of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP), he should prompt the youth concerning the essential tasks from the viewpoint of the defense of our society. To inspire ways to implement these tasks and to offer substantial help in their execution, as well as to integrate the work of the ZHP, the PCK and the LOK in the school are the most important tasks of the PO teacher in the field of popularizing questions of civil defense.

The activity of the various circles of interest, properly inspired, leads to an interest in the problems of civil defense. Let us take the work of the school photography circle as an example. Good visual propaganda, organizing photographic competitions, covering sports-defense spectacles and displaying photographs taken during them show the student body what civil defense is and how the school is preparing for it. As they see themselves in the photographs demonstrating some activity within the framework of civil defense, students identify with those who will fulfill these important social tasks in time of need.

Shows and celebrations organized in the school should also be used to popularize questions of civil defense. In many schools they are tied in with contests of knowledge about civil defense, poster competitions or newspaper competitions on the subject. Nothing arouses the interest of youth about civil defense more than participating in a sports-defense demonstration or preparing an occasional newspaper or poster suitably popularizing a self-defense slogan. Such competitions are appreciated, the results are announced publicly during school convocations, and the authors of the winning entries are handsomely rewarded.

Cooperation with civil defense formations is implemented by the observation of mock drills, by visits to protective shelters and displays, and by participation in various types of demonstrations devoted to civil defense.

A very vital role in developing interest in questions of civil defense is played by the means of mass communication. There are many questions of civil defense which are made clearer through the use of films, slides and television broadcasts.

The television programs transmitted since 1968 on the subject of defense preparedness as a rule relate to civil defense. They bring the subject of civil defense home to young people, enabling them to understand difficult problems, and demonstrate how one should defend oneself in threatening situations.

Our young people live and formulate their picture of the world via the television screen, to a great extent. Seven years of observation of the results of the use of television in the teaching of PO has shown that the demonstration and explanation of many activities in classes which use television was easier and did not require as much trouble and effort on the part of the teacher as did the same activities in classes which did not use television. The actions of students patterned upon the examples of the behavior of people during a time of threatening danger or war as presented in television broadcasts of defense preparedness were executed with total understanding and were performed better than the same actions in classes where television was not used as a study aid. Students in classes which utilized PO broadcasts were better able to find solutions to many difficult and complex problems during their defense preparedness lectures, in exercises and competitions of health teams and in sports-defense contests, than students learning without television. What was noted in particular over the course of several years was that students using television as a study aid had the ability to cope with situations which required them to make the independent decisions necessary for them to help themselves and others in a stricken area.

Problems of civil defense should be treated in close conjunction with the life of society, not as a separate entity.

Particular questions should be substantiated with the elements of knowledge from other school subjects. What we are teaching now should have some connection with what we taught formerly.

Program at 'Rawar' Plant

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 10, Oct 80 p 9-11

[Article by Stanislaw Zimmicki]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Poligonowa Street. Here, 25 years ago, the first buildings of the "Rawar" Radio Plants went up to function then as a control center for the Scientific-Production Center of Professional Electronics "Unitra-Radwar." In 1955 the warehouses of the factory yielded the first lots of terminal production. With the increase in work crews, area and number of machines and equipment, the quantity and quality of products have grown. Today "Rawar" is a renowned producer of radar equipment found on the ships of many countries. It employs large numbers of experts: technicians and mechanical engineers, electricians, electronics experts and other specialists who work at their professions devotedly, making a visible contribution to the socioeconomic development of our country and to civil defense preparedness.

The information that "Rawar" has taken the lead within its ministry in the field of civil defense has led us there. We explained the purpose of our visit to the chief director, Engineer Marian Migdalski, and we asked him to familiarize us with the output of the plant for civil defense.

Different Beginnings

The director told us, "We embarked on civil defense preparations in 1955. We called upon the staff of the Local Anti-Aircraft Defense (TOPL) building and on subunits of the special services. We had many difficulties. We lacked teachers, textbooks, visual tables, displays and Civil Defense (OC) equipment. We did not have protective shelters, control stations, a communications system or an alarm system. Nor was there a complete, steady work crew at the plant or a tradition of its organized activity in self-defense. We started from nothing.

"As the factory grew, our civil defense system developed and strengthened. We set about preparing engineering-technical equipment and a training-materials base, we began to improve the structure of our OC system, and we conducted intensive training sessions for its members and for personnel in order to popularize the subject of defense.

"Today, after 25 years, we find ourselves taking the lead in this field within the ministry. Joining forces, we have done a great deal of work, and we are pleased and satisfied with having fulfilled our obligation well. We have a well worked-out plan of civil defense for the plant, a solidly trained OC unit, which is well equipped, a control system, an alarm system and protective shelters. Every member of the crew knows his place in the civil defense system, and he is capable of operating in complex situations.

"We profess the idea that if something is to be done it should be done right, so that it can be used today or tomorrow for the good of the plant and its workers..."

Director Migdalski proposes that we become acquainted with some of the developments and results of their OC efforts at the plant site itself and at the headquarters of the Plant Civil Defense Unit.

Their Protective Shelters Are In Service Now

Together with Ryszard Kunicki, director of the Security Division and Feliks Sierpinaki, commander of the Plant Civil Defense Unit (ZOOC), we reached the control station. Along the way we marveled at the order and beauty to be found on the grounds of the plant. We saw tidy buildings, mowed lawns, spring flowers and bushes, a well cared for reservoir of water for use in case of fire, nicely executed civil defense showcase displays done by Czeslaw Zlotkowski and Tadeusz Chabior and original schooling-propaganda illustrations on a large scale mounted on stands made of aluminum piping. Civil defense manifested its presence at the plant, propagating humanitarian ideas and teaching self-defense. We entered the control station of the plant OC unit, and visited the various locations: the operating room, the station for receiving reports, the communications and health station, the rest and relaxation room.... They are equipped with everything that is essential for the work of the cadre in command of the OC system under special conditions. At the same time, the most successful experiences and developments of similar control stations of many buildings of other resorts are skillfully used in their work, including the placing of the telephone equipment of the chiefs of services in special cabinets, the planned development of radio services, the operation of an alarm system, the operation of a control room for a radio broadcast system and the use of a diagram illuminated from below for commanding OC forces and resources. Currently industrial television equipment is being installed here, which will be of use both for the needs of protection of the plant and for directing OC.

The walls and ceilings of the rooms are paneled, and the floors are covered with plastic floor covering. Luminescent lighting has been installed. The tastefulness and coziness are striking. All of this was carried out within the economic system and was, to a considerable degree, a joint effort of the members of the factory unit of civil defense under the auspices of director Migdalski. Much of the work was done by Borys Makal, Zygmunt Tadeusiak, Andrzej Kacprzak, Jerzy Opolski, Marian Plaz and Janusz Rabantek. Presently the control station not only serves as the location for conducting OC activities, but is also used in various types of training and for meetings of the management personnel of the plant.

The shelters for the cadres which we saw next do not stand idle either. Attractive lecture halls, employee lounges and breakfast halls are set up there. And it is not only the protective shelters that serve current needs well, but also the other OC undertakings: organizational, propagandistic and educational.

The Rescue Technique Is Being Improved

After our visit to the control station, the shelters and the OC equipment storehouse under the excellent management of Zdzislaw Antolak, we moved to the modest room of the ZOOC commander. First we were shown the documentation of the plant civil defense plan. It is characterized by clarity, objectivity and high standards among the staff members. It has been developed as the result of great effort on the part of several specialists within the factory and the directorial cadre of the civil defense system.

Many of the endeavors planned for peacetime have effectively been implemented; a number of them are now being successfully executed. In particular, much effort is going into perfecting the rescue technique of the OC unit members.

ZOOC Commander F. Sierpinski said: "Training in the area of civil defense is the most important issue for the command and the directorship of the plant. It has always been a priority for us. We have created a solid materials-training base, equipped with the essential audiovisual aids. We train the leadership cadre in special courses at the Voivodship Center for Management Training (WOSK) in Ostrow Mazowiecki, the commanders of medical-health teams at the Ostrow Mazowiecki First Aid School (OMSS) of the Polish Red Cross (PCK), and subunits of the plant OC unit in our own domain. Activities for their continued improvement are conducted for them by the chiefs of services, primarily by means of practical exercises, including mock drills. Members of the service: Andrzej Kacprzak (technological rescue), Master of Engineering Janina Szewczyk (disinfection and deactivation), and Leszek Molenda (medical-health service) have achieved very good results.

"The results of training are not only evident in the growth of OC knowledge and of the rescuing skill of the members of our unit, but also in the fostering of their integration, an increase in discipline and in social development. Each of the services has to its credit many accomplishments in social actions on behalf of the plant and civil defense. Among these is their input to beautify the 'Rawa' grounds, the construction of a parking lot, the preparation of the control station and shelters, the upkeep of equipment of the communications system, the alarm and blackout systems, and the fire fighting system...."

Sierpinski continued: "In conducting a multidirectional activity, we do not let matters of the training of the whole cadre in the field of civil defense escape our view. Every worker must know how to defend himself, and, in case of need, come to the aid of OC individuals carrying out a rescue operation.

"While up to 1977 we organized mass training into courses in civil defense, presently we use a method of self-learning. Employees receive brochures which they study, they make use of consultations with experts, they view films and then they take exams. This method has proved to be an excellent one for our situations. The high grades merited by employees during exams are evidence of this fact."

Effective Propaganda on OC Questions

The role of propaganda in making knowledge of civil defense universal is known everywhere. They understand this well at "Rawar" and they develop it using all available resources. Each year a plan of propaganda work is laid out for OC which is approved by the PZPR Factory Committee. The plan outlines the principal endeavors, the deadlines for their implementations, and those assigned to carry them out. The vice commander of the ZOOC for political affairs, executive member of the PZPR Central Committee Jan Aciszewski, oversees its execution.

Information radio broadcasts are given systematically during breakfast breaks. The announcer of the radio broadcast system, Zofia Stasiak, uses materials printed in the PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ to this end and texts which she writes herself based on handbooks and publications in periodicals. The factory radio broadcasts on OC have become second nature and enjoy tremendous popularity. People are eager to listen to them and in this way they broaden their knowledge of OC. The contribution of the plant newspaper ECHOSONDA to civil defense propaganda is evident. Editor Barbara Grunwald is invited to meetings, training sessions and exercise sessions organized by the ZOOC. Her publications familiarize readers with the life and work of civil defense.

Civil defense showcase displays and photo-newspapers put out by various services also play an important role. If we add to this the lectures which are organized and the films which are shown, we have a complete picture of the solidly conducted propaganda work.

Not long ago the Rawar OC celebrated its silver jubilee. Its successes were summarized simply and all who, through their attitudes and involvement, contributed to its progress were warmly thanked. Major emphasis was laid on the problems of the further development and strengthening of the plant's civil defense, and on raising the standards of the work being conducted presently in this great humanitarian endeavor.

Programs on Merchant Ships

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 10 pp 16-20

[Article by Jan Gren, M.A., director of the OC Training Center on Ships of the Polish Ocean Lines]

[Text] Last year the training of crews in the field of civil defense was initiated on the first ships of the Polish Ocean Lines. It is based on the transmission of the indispensable theoretical and practical knowledge necessary for the crews of each ship to defend themselves against a weapon of mass destruction, to know rescue techniques and be able to offer first aid under various sailing conditions, with various types of cargo and particularly at a great distance from the home port with practically no outside help. Consequently, this is a complex task, the first on such a scale in the history of our merchant marine. It was preceded by multisided organizational efforts, analyses and discussions, as well as attempts to implement the fundamental training methods on board ship. In this way the present organizational, technical and methodological system of OC training was born.

Some Information about Shipowners

The Polish Ocean Lines (PLO) is the only shipping enterprise in Poland and is one of the largest owners of shipping lines in the world. It carries on the shipping trade regularly between nearly 500 ports. PLO ships are exclusively general cargo vessels, i.e., they carry package or consumer goods. In general the PLO, which operates according to union rights, uses 174 ships with a capacity of 1.4 million tons. Four operating plants, named for the regions into which their ships sail, operate within the framework of the PLO. Thus for the operational control of ships in Europe, the Plant of European Lines and Ferry Shipping was opened with its headquarters in Szczecin, in which there are ships serving the majority of ports of Western Europe, the British Isles and all of Scandinavia. Round-trip voyages of these ships take from several dozen hours (the automobile-train ferries MS MIKOLAJ KOPERNIK and JAN HEWELIUSZ) to several dozen days. In very remote areas of the world ships of the Plant of the African and Mediterranean Lines operate. They sail to all ports of the Mediterranean basin and to most of the ports of northern, eastern and western Africa. It often happens that ships of the East African Line sail around Africa; they sail through the Mediterranean Sea and the Suez Canal to the ports of eastern Africa and to Madagascar, around southern Africa to the ports of western African and then north to the ports of the English Channel and Western Europe. Most of the voyages take 90 to 120 days, but there are also 200-day voyages and longer voyages as a consequence of waits in the roads for a space to unload.

The Plant of the American Lines groups together ships operating between Polish ports, Western Europe and the east and west coasts of North and South America, the Caribbean Sea and the Great Lakes. The voyages of these ships last from 30 days to U.S. ports, up to 3 or 4 months on the east coast, and even longer for the western ports of both Americas.

The fourth and largest plant, both from the viewpoint of numbers and size of the ships as well as the distance of the regions to which they sail, is the Plant of the Asiatic and Australian Lines. Its ships sail regularly to most of the ports of Asia, Australia and Oceania. They transport goods from Poland and the whole of Western Europe to ports of the Persian Gulf, the Indian subcontinent, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, Japan and Australia, and recently to the exotic ports of the Philippines, New Guinea, and New Zealand, the Fiji Islands, the Easter Islands and the like. It often happens that a ship of the PLO reaches its destinations via the following itinerary: the English Channel, the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean, returning via the Pacific Ocean through the Panama Canal and the Atlantic, making a loop around the globe.

Life On Board Ship

PLO ships are used on 37 regular lines, which means that on a particular day of the month or week, or even at a particular hour, a ship of the PLO may be found in a given port regardless of the weather, the type or the size of the cargo. In the course of 1 year these ships transport up to 5 million tons of general cargo of the widest variety of weights, sizes and consistencies. There are machines and machine parts, tape recorders, watches, radios, chemicals, hides wool and cotton, coffee, tea, motors, automobiles, tractors, locomotives, reinforcing steel, metals, and also small floating craft: cutters, yachts, boats and motorboats. Such cargo demands the constant care and concern of the crew during loading, but even more when the ship is at sea. Moreover, the crew continually maintains the various parts of the ship, removing old

paint, cleaning rust spots down to the bare metal and painting them with several coats of paint. There is also equipment maintenance, there are routine inspections of machinery and overhauls and repairs. The major task when the ship is at sea, however, is to ensure the continuous motion of the ship, to supply the ship with electrical power and heat, and to guarantee safe navigation. The crew numbers from 18 to 19 persons on the smaller ships to 40 to 60 persons on the largest ships. The makeup is a different one only on the STEFAN BATORY, our transatlantic flagship and on the automobile-train ferries HEWELIUSZ and KOPERNIK.

Within every crew there is a strictly defined hierarchy of positions, duties and power. At the head of the crew stands the captain, the director and plenipotentiary of the shipowner. The crew is divided into three sections: the deck section, the machinery section and the hotel section, directed respectively by the first deck officer, the senior mechanic and the chief steward. The deck crew works under the leadership of the officers of the bridge watch, in steering the ship and as lookout men, changing shifts every 4 hours, day and night. Officers and sailors of the machinery section keep the same watch in the machine room; they make sure that the current-producing assembly is working, that the pumps and central heating boiler are operational and ensure the continuous circulation of the fresh and salt water systems. The hotel section handles matters of the daily living of the crew and passengers and carries out all sorts of administrative tasks, e.g., documentation for the shipowner and port authorities. It also conducts the sale of small items in the ship's commissary.

Aside from these things, the life of the crew follows the same course as that of any organizational unit on land. Thus, there are meetings and party training sessions as well as youth meetings (on every ship there is a Branch Party Organization [OOP] and a circle of the Polish Socialist Youth Association [ZSMP]), meetings to discuss the work of the crew and various forms of cultural-educational life. The ship is equipped for the viewing of films and television programs, for listening to sound recordings and radio. A small ship's library includes works of belles-lettres and adventure literature as well as newspapers. Many circles of interest are at work. Numerous contests, tournaments and quizzes which are not only of recreational value, but are also educational, are organized. Each member of the crew has some free time. In this way the weeks or months pass and the length of the voyage is determined by the distance and the atmospheric conditions. But such is life on the sea where rough weather often threatens, where there is physical and emotional fatigue, and extra work in loading, maintenance and repairs.

The Search for Forms and Methods

Under such conditions it became necessary to organize systematic training in OC, something which did not exist on the ship until that time. Thus, various intensive organizational measures, consultations and analyses, as well as discussions for the purpose of developing an optimal training model, were undertaken. The program for training crews, which was developed by superior officials, is broader than the obligatory program on land, encompassing 42 hours of lectures, practical activities and exercises. This is no doubt as specified by the Ship Self-Defense Group (SGS). The crews of ships are highly formalized units of individuals selected for their tasks, systematically trained, having their vocational duties and alerts. The OC unit on land can count on the cooperation of neighbors and on mutual aid, while the crew of a ship generally cannot depend on this possibility. The first condition of the realization of the training program was the choice of someone to direct training and the necessity of determining what sort of organizational and methodological assistance it would need to make the training interesting for the crew, to keep it

at a high level and to make it beneficial. All officers, of whom there are at least seven on each ship, are graduates of marine schools or other institutions of higher learning in which they completed military studies and have the rank of noncommissioned officers in the officers' cadet reserves. Many of them belong to the armed forces reserves, generally the navy, and often they are career officers. But it is one thing to be a student or soldier, even a professional soldier, and another to be a lecturer under such unusual conditions. All officers take turns at watch, so that conducting classes is often impossible, particularly when the ship runs into stormy weather. Moreover, the lack of lecture halls, special display cabinets and exercise areas is a liability. Activities for all of the crew take place simultaneously, regardless of their rank and post. There is little visual and audiovisual material. The only visual aids are examples of equipment and the outfitting of the crew. Under such conditions it is difficult to prepare the graduate of an institution of higher learning, a soldier reservist, or someone who, for the first time in his life, hears the terms and designations of OC for a defense alert. Engaging an instructor from the outside is impossible due to the expense. The only solution is to train an internal training cadre recruited from among the crew members.

Who Should Be Chosen?

Those best prepared to give instruction are the officers, graduates of marine school or other institutions of higher learning who, in the course of their study and apprenticeship, completed military studies and have special knowledge and a rank in the armed forces reserves. But, as I have pointed out, the officers take turns at the watch and cannot fulfill the function of instructing the self-defense group on ship. Secondly, the ambition of every officer is to work his way up through the grades of a professional career to the highest positions, that of captain or senior mechanic, and these officers should not be SGS instructors for fundamental reasons. The only officers who do not take a turn at the watch are the radio officer, the chief steward, the officer electricians (I, II and an assistant) and, of the noncommissioned officers, the boatswain, the carpenter and the machinery storekeeper. Obviously, because of their duties the radio officer and the chief steward should not be instructors, so the selection must be made among those who are left. The officer electricians are, as a rule, graduates of institutions of higher learning and military studies, but they have the very intensive job of working with the increasingly widely used automatic and electronic equipment on ship. The remaining three specialists generally have many years of experience in the sailor's trade, they are often navy reservists who have had no formal education, especially one which would qualify them to work with such a complex group as the crew of a merchant ship. These persons have been recruited to be the instructors.

We Have the Candidates!

The initial selection is then made on the basis of armed services records and personal records. The candidates for instructors are then given a 10-day stationary course about the special program. Primarily they have practical activities and exercises (including a whole day's stay on the chemical testing ground). The participants have already had a practice defense alert on ship and have taken part in group training. During the course, their progress in study, the degree of involvement of the individual candidates and their aptitude to conduct training are closely observed. The course includes detailed discussions, above all, of those problems and subjects which are obligatory in the training of crews. Moreover, the students receive

assistance in the methodology of preparing and conducting training and in completing the necessary documentation. Discussions and the balancing of theory with the practical aspects of life on board ship, as well as answers to the students' questions which are not covered in class lectures and activities, allow for the thorough study of certain proposals.

The graduates of the Military Institute of Civil Defense (WIOC) have the authority of a civil defense instructor of the second class. From 1976 to 1979, 220 instructors for the PLO were trained in 10 courses. The results of this system of preparatory training up to the present time have been very good, with the effectiveness of each course running between 90 and 100 percent. Teacher preparation, however, does not stop with the course. There is also direct preparation, which takes place when the instructor signs on board a ship. Several days before the voyage, the instructor receives a packet of training materials, a list of the equipment to be found on the ship and precise information about the crew. Principles of the ship's organizational hierarchy and the methodology of conducting training are discussed and information is provided concerning which subjects are to be treated in depth, and which only cursorily. The fact that there is a crew instructor does not exclude training given by other members of the crew, and it is even pointed out that properly trained officers among the crew, a doctor or an employee of the land services who is in training should take part in teaching.

Immediately before the ship sails out to sea the final stage of teacher preparation takes place on the ship's deck, namely a briefing and lesson in which the following participate: the captain--the SGS commander, the first officer--SGS vice commander and also director of training in the OC area, the SGS instructor and the eventual instructors among the crew officers. At this briefing the captain receives a set of standards and training documents as well as the essential information and elucidations. A record of this briefing is made, which is one of the training documents in the area of civil defense of the ship. According to the obligatory regulations, this briefing is conducted by the director of the OC Training Center of the shipowner. Meetings of the representative of the Training Center with the ships that, in the course of training, sail into Polish ports, are organized in the same way as the briefing. At that time, the course of training, its progress and the difficulties and the shortcomings which have arisen are discussed.

The Course of Training

The training of crews begins with a general briefing, at which the captain of the ship discusses the purpose of training, its organization and all pertinent details. He presents the training plan, materials and the methods to be used for testing knowledge and skills. This system is now obligatory in the PLO. Our experiences up to the present time irrefutably show that the level and results of schooling rest above all on broad preparation on land to the smallest detail, and on ship, on the organizational and methodological skill and initiative of the instructor and direct directorial staff of the ship.

For the purpose of maintaining a systematic approach and a consistent organizational framework, the shipowner establishes various periods for the completion of training on individual ships. Thus, ships for which the round trip is completed in more than 90 days are to finish the whole training cycle, together with an exam and defense alert in the course of this voyage. For other ships, this cycle is to be completed in 3 to 6 months. This is tied in with the change in crew members after one or more voyages because of vacations, training courses and self-improvement courses, as well as family matters.

The course of training on board ship depends on the makeup of the crew, the frequency of classes and the time at which they are scheduled. Theoretical lectures are given as a rule in the afternoon hours and, depending on the need or the conditions, they may be conducted during work hours or during free time. When possible, some of the training is conducted during work hours, particularly during period of long waits in the roads before entering a port. The captain always decides this. Taking into consideration the fact that some members of the crew must take their turns on the watch or execute indispensable maintenance and repair work, additional classes, conducted by the instructor, are organized for the purpose of consultation and giving pointers for self-education. Some instructors, in addition to giving lectures and leading exercises, conduct individual work with the various crew members. The training concludes with a theoretical and practical exam which is obligatory for the whole crew. At the theoretical exam, each crew member receives a sheet of paper with questions which he must answer in written form. This exam is conducted for the whole crew or the majority of its members by the first officer together with the SGS instructor, and for the directors of units and the team officers, as well as the SGS section, by the captain. This system of testing knowledge is more practical than an oral exam before an examining committee for several reasons. It takes less time, the answers may be checked at any time, and the answers of the whole crew or of several crews may be compared. The practical exam is an all-ship "defense alert" for the whole crew, most often while the ship is on the high seas. It may be compared to the drill of an OC group or unit on land, except for the fact that some of the crew must continue doing their professional duties during the alert. This exercise takes place according to an elaborate plan with the actual use of protective equipment and the outfitting of the ship. The various teams and sections, and even individual crew members, take part in the exercise. The proper forms and methods for observing the weather, the sea and sighted land are predicted, an evaluation and characterization of such events as possible air raid is made, the approach of naval vessels or the approach to mine fields are projected, and at the same time the supervision of the continuous work of machinery and equipment goes on.

The crew practices putting out fires, water leakage at full speed, during a change of course and during a change in speed. The alert concludes with a lesson on the types and degrees of contamination, decontamination and health and special measures on the ship.

A model self-defense organization is worked out for the various groups of ships. It divides the crew into five groups: the directorship of the vessel (captain, first officer, instructor and radio officer), the watch (deck and machinery) and three teams. The first team--technical rescue--has the duty of eliminating all hazards, damage and inefficiencies and is in charge of seeing that the ship is leakproof. Team No 2 is the firefighting and decontamination team. Team No 3 is in charge of detecting contamination and of health measures.

On large ships, where the crew numbers more than 33 persons, each team is divided into 2 sections. The team commander is an officer. For example, the commander of team No 1 is the second officer-engineer, the leader of team No 2 is the third officer on deck, and the leader of team No 3 is the second officer on deck. This distribution of functions is close to the work duties of the officers. During a defense alert, the whole crew is in very specific locations, individually outfitted and in possession of the appropriate technical equipment, waiting for an order from the captain's bridge. The contents of the order transmitted to the team leaders, section leaders or crew

members varies, but I will give several orders as an example: "Leader of team No 1, a break on the left side in the region of hold 2, the water is overflowing the hold. Determine the size of the break, report back, and proceed to caulk the hole." "Leader of team No 2, a fire in the paint storehouse on the bow, proceed to put out the fire. Report the extent of damage." "Leader of team No 3, proceed to determine the amount of contamination on board ship."

All activities of SGS members on the exterior of the ship take place in full outfitting and with the use of individual means of protection, under the supervision of the first officer and the instructor, who determine the method and time for executing the tasks. The defense alert is conducted, as a rule, on the open sea, and all forms of safety precautions are taken as the basic maneuvers are carried out forwarding off an air attack or another attacking ship, for bypassing a mine field or a surge wave. Sometimes these maneuvers take place together with agreed upon damage to machinery, with a partial loss of the speed and maneuverability of the ship, with a part of the crew abandoning ship and with a group of shipwrecked persons being taken on board. On the basis of observation of the skill of the various crew members, section members and team members in the drill, the captain, the first officer and the instructor determine whether the defense alert task has been fully completed or only partly completed. Those who executed their duties during the alert imprecisely or took longer than prescribed are required to undergo further training, drill and practice until the whole crew executes all of its duties correctly and on time.

Results

The results of training and the level of the theoretical and practical exams of the crews of the first 14 ships on which OC training has been completed are promising and better than anticipated. They are proof of the appropriateness of the organizational-methodological assumptions and preparations. The contents of the training, its forms and requirements have become accepted by the crews, which understand that the training is indispensable for the protection of their health and life.

The captains of most ships, sociopolitical organizations and often even individual members of crews have succeeded in creating an atmosphere which fosters learning, bringing it up to a high level. Many crews have completed their training in a period much shorter than planned, and the test and exercise results have ranged from good to very good. Many instructors, first officers and lecturers have enriched their theoretical and practical classes with various forms of popular activities. Most of these supplementary activities have related to acquiring skill in the practical use of equipment and outfitting for protection and defense. The knowledge of crews concerning forms of threatening danger, protection against it and reducing its consequences has broadened. Very often an OC training program has been supplemented with information from the armed services or military studies and an atmosphere of healthy competition and rivalry has developed among members of crews, sections and teams. The answers to relatively difficult questions on examinations are without a mistake among most crews.

The duty of preparing ships' crews for self-defense has liberated many valuable initiatives and forms of extracurricular work. And so the instructor on the MS JURATA, First Electrician Stanislaw Jurczyk supplemented his lectures and exercises during the evening with questions and answers from the field of OC and organized a contest of the knowledge of machinery and outfitting gear. The MS JURATA makes distant voyages to the ports of Japan. Similar forms of work were organized on the MS WISLICA,

which sails to ports of ancient East Africa, and presently West Africa, by the ship's captain, Franciszek Golebiowski, and First Officer Andrzej Bogucki. On the MS DUSZNIKI ZKROJ, a small ship with a crew of 21, which sails between Gdansk and the ports of Sweden and Finland, there is little possibility for training since the voyage lasts from 18 to 23 hours. Captain Andrzej Kostynski and First Officer Ryszard Lipka, using a broad range of materials, summarized the most important information and presented each of the ship's crew members with a copy. Training on the MS EMILIA PLATER, the captain of which was Janusz Buczek, and the instructors--the ship's doctor, Jerzy Jasienski, and Fourth Officer Tadeusz Pabis, was conducted very well. Similar results were achieved on the MS ADAM MICKIEWICZ, the captain of which is Roman Bubiela, the first officer, Zbigniew Szyca, and the instructor, boatswain Kazimierz Anusiak.

On the MS WIELICZKA, Captain Wieslaw Piglowski, former naval officer, himself conducted most of the training stating: "I wanted it to be done well, and I like working with people." Such attitudes and initiatives are particularly valuable in the initial period of training; for this reason we keep collecting them to disseminate them among crews and to use them in future instructors' courses. One of the primary lessons is the confirmation of the old human truth, that much can be done if only one wants to do it, that the results of training in civil defense are the best where the proper atmosphere exists, and where there is discipline, order and reason. Among crews the need for OC training is properly understood, i.e., that its goal is above all the security and preservation of the life of the crew. How this goal is implemented depends above all on the crew and the level of its readiness to execute its tasks.

8536

CSO: 2600

ACTIVITY OF JEHOVAH'S WITNESS REPORTED, CONDEMNED

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian of 6 December 1980 p 2 publishes an article by Laurentiu Duta, "Victims of Obscurantism in the Personal Penitentiary of a 'Prophet'," telling the story of Iulian Radu, known as "Nelu," a resident of the Barabant area of Alba Iulia, a longtime member of the Jehovah's Witnesses sect, who is "very active in proclaiming his right to freedom of spirit but manifests himself to be a detestable enemy of freedom of spirit for others. Not only does he contest this right for others but he also wants to impose his "belief" on them, by moral and physical violence, resulting in the total human degradation of his own son."

Duta relates how "Nelu" deprived his first wife of food and shut her up in the cellar in order to "chase Satan away from her." She died soon after from tuberculosis. He then married a member of the sect. His oldest son left home. His daughter married and had a son. When his grandchild joined the Pioneers, "Nelu" became infuriated and "did all he could to destroy the family of his own daughter." The son-in-law left and the daughter and child remained with "Nelu." "Nelu" promised that he would allow Aurel Duriga to marry his daughter if he would join the Jehovah's Witnesses—"a sect which preaches against one of the highest civic duties: training for the defense of the country. So the young engineer, abandoning his duty, joined the ranks of deserters." Under the influence of the sect "Nelu's" 20-year old son, Daniel Radu, killed a 9-year old girl. "Nelu's" daughter, Monica, "is obliged to cram into her head the same monstrous bugaboos about 'the approaching end', the 'empire of a thousand years', and 'Armageddon'."

Duta visits "Nelu" and "Nelu" "takes out a little book about 'eternal life' and attempts to justify himself. What little book in the world could justify moral and physical abuse, dehumanization to the point of homicide? With what eyes can we view and how can we accept that 'sole ruler', in whose name an individual beset by fantasy separates a child from his father, darkens the childhood of another, imprisoning her in a world of darkness and threats, tortures his son to the point of bestiality and crime, and forces a young man to desert his highest civic duty? The respective little book thus becomes not just a justification for crime but a veritable corpus delicti."

'NATIONAL REGISTRY OF CANCER' TO BE ESTABLISHED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Dec 80 p 5

[Interview by Ioana Patrascu with Prof Dr Alexandru Trestioreanu, director of the Cancer Institute in Bucharest]

[Excerpts] [Question] A recent order of the Ministry of Health calls for the obligatory reporting of all new cases of cancer discovered in health units as well as organizational measures for the dissemination of information so that on 1 January 1981 the "national registry of cancer" will be established. We know that there was a meeting at the Bucharest level, on 3 December, dealing with the implementation of these measures. We would like you to give us some details about the usefulness of the measures and other data on cancer.

[Answer] Among the civilized countries, our country occupies one of the lowest places in regard to the incidence of the disease but the frequency of cases of cancer is on the increase, especially during recent decades. Cancer is in second place among the causes of deaths throughout the country. One out of every five deaths results from this disease. Over a period of 50 years, the total number of deaths has increased 3 times, reaching the figure of 131.6 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1978 compared to less than 40 per 100,000 in 1930. While, in general, the incidence of cancer is higher among women than men, more men than women die from the disease. The cases of cancer in adolescents and children are becoming more numerous.

The establishment of the "national registry of cancer" will place Romania among the few countries of the world which will have such information available for entire national territory, a fact which will be of great assistance in practical activity, as a result of the multiple and rapid correlations which can be made by the computer which will store the information supplied.

Another group of measures refers to the detection and combatting of environmental factors with cancer-causing potential, in the framework of prophylactic actions. It is a question of certain pollutants, of certain harmful habits such as smoking, of alcohol abuse, of improper nutrition and exaggerated consumption of animal fats and of drug abuse.

[Question] What measures can be taken for the active detection of cancer and for early diagnosis?

[Answer] For the detection of cancer of the cervix in women between the ages of 30-65 the period in which there is danger of this disease, we have a simple method consisting of a microscopic examination as part of the test known as the Papanicolou test. Actually, this was a Romanian discovery, a method devised by Aurel Babes many years before the method of the person who gave it his name. Unfortunately, there is resistance on the part of the female population of all categories and those groups which are most exposed to malignancy or who have a pathology which might make them vulnerable are the very ones who still demonstrate resistance. On the other hand, the doctors do not oblige the women to have the respective examination. However, most of the delays in consulting a doctor are the fault of the patients themselves and result from causes which are extremely complex and hard to remedy. They can be summarized as follows: lack of correct information to the broad masses of the people on elementary matters related to cancer and the existence of prejudices and false ideas about this disease.

[Question] What are these prejudices?

[Answer] First of all, there is the fallacious idea that cancer is incurable. A second, which is derived from the first, is "fear of diagnosis." Also, many people, even with a high degree of education, do not seek treatment because the growth is "not painful," being guided by the false equation, "cancer=pain." Action should be taken to dispell unjustified "fear," revealing to the population the optimistic side of the problem and the invaluable importance of collaboration between doctor and patient.

CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

DANGERS OF OVEREATING --In Romania, just like in many other countries, we are experiencing the phenomenon of over-consumption of food, in contrast to the mal-nutrition of the past. In our country, 46 percent of the deaths result from cardiovascular diseases due to arteriosclerosis. The incidence of heart attacks in persons under the age of 40 years is three times as frequent as it was 4-5 decades ago. Obesity affects from 12 to 35 percent of the population. Some 14 percent suffer from lipid disorders. There has been a disturbing increase in the incidence of diabetes. In Romania we consume 180 kg of flour per capita a year, while 90 kg and 80 kg are consumed, respectively, in Czechoslovakia and France. Excessive consumption of flour results in obesity, which is prevalent in a number of our counties, and type IV lipid disorders which lead to heart attacks. Sugar is responsible for many diseases. Sugar consumption which is not accompanied by enough vitamin B can lead to the exhaustion of the nerve cells. An adult should consume 26-28 kg of sugar a year. We consume some 32 kg. In 1938, only 0.2 percent of the population of the country had diabetes, now we find this disease 3.1 percent. We find the same disturbing phenomenon in regard to lipid disorders and other diseases caused by improper eating. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Dec 80 p 5]

CSO: 2700

CONTROVERSY AIRED OVER TELEVISION DRAMA ON STRIKE

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1561, 30 Nov 80
pp 33-34

[Article by Mladen Maloca: "Television Reality"]

[Text] While Ljubljana television is week after week assuring the broad and always patient Yugoslav TV public that "there is no pike in these waters, there just isn't," the Zagreb studio's recent drama "Stoppage in Strojna" seems to have had the effect of a sudden appearance of this predacious fish in the usually peaceful fishpond of television. It is enough to scan the television columns and reviews in the daily newspapers to see that the first play by authors Jelena Lovric and Mirko Bosnjak has left few people indifferent. In a search for life situations of what is still often referred to as our "base," Lovric and Bosnjak brought their attention and curiosity to bear on a work stoppage in an enterprise.

"Stoppage in Strojna," which was scheduled for broadcast back at the outset of the fall season in spite of the sensitivity of the subject matter chosen would probably have not gotten further than the usual attention of professional TV critics if it had not also been mentioned from the rostrum in the Croatian Assembly. To be specific, Petar Sitvuk of Rijeka, a delegate in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Croatian Assembly, who is otherwise a superintendent at the "3 maj" Shipyard and a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, posed a delegate query in which he sought a response to who looks at television programs and approves them for broadcasting? His pretext for putting this query, he explained, were Ljubljana television's series "There's No Pike, And It's Just as Well" and the play "Stoppage in Strojna," which had just been broadcast. In support of his putting such a question from the rostrum of the highest delegate body in the republic, Sitvuk said that our working people and citizens, as well as many members of the League of Communists, conscious of the present moment and situation, are often in a quandary as how to interpret certain things, what should be accepted, and what should be rejected from what is offered to them as a message from the "little screen." After the play "Stoppage in Strojna" was shown, shouldn't there have been some commentary given or a "round table discussion" organized? Sitvuk asked. Such commentary "on the spot" would have averted the "people's prattling anything they

please off in the corner" even to the point of "not to mention making fun of self-management and that poor party chairman and the secretary of the party organization."

In conformity with the customary procedure Petar Sitvuk will probably receive a response in the very next session of the Assembly in early December. In the meantime this delegate query has "heated up" discussions about this broadcast, about the message of the play, and concerning interpretations of various situations in which self-managers might find themselves. The people of Zagreb Television say that they said what they thought about this piece by showing it. They add, however, it should not be anything unusual in our society for people to have differing opinions about some creative work.

A Delicate Topic

In the corridors of the Croatian Assembly we met Antun Horvat, president of the Society of Croatian Newsmen, who was also critical in his remarks:

"Everything in 'Stoppage ...' is given in black and white," Horvat said, "along with the well-known cliches about how work stoppages in Yugoslavia are exclusively the result of the workers' resentment at having their self-management rights violated. It is my impression that certain of the statements made by the workers in the discussion were taken verbatim from certain political statements and sociological studies concerned with the phenomenon of work stoppages in Yugoslavia." He believes the play itself to have been schematic and to have portrayed the causes of the stoppage at Strojna in an oversimplified way.

Nikola Ban, Croatian republic secretary for information, whose opinion we sought, said that it was really a shame that a "round table" discussion was not organized on this complex and important topic immediately after the broadcast. Then there probably would have been statements by many working people, public figures and scholars and representatives of associated labor who would have been able to analyze the phenomenon of the work stoppage far more comprehensively and thus to present to viewers many important elements for a more complete assessment which the play itself was objectively unable to offer.

"I think," Ban explained, "that this approach was possible and necessary because of the importance of the subject which the play treats and finally because of its existence in our social reality."

The Sources of the Drama

VJESNIK's commentator Zivko Gruden has spoken out in this debate. Gruden attempts to enter into the essence of the themes of the TV play. He recalls that the play was based on research by our scholars and on the analyses, not very numerous as yet to be sure, which have so far been written on

stoppages in Yugoslavia. In his concluding passage Gruden finally offers the following conclusion:

"A stoppage is a moment of truth for everyone. It seems to us that it was in fact portrayed in that manner. Was there any need, then, for the experts to explain to us self-managers what actually had happened in the play?"

The question which VJESNIK's columnist put at the end of his article does not bear further simplification, but it points up the possible presence of a frame of mind which takes an oversolicitous attitude toward the workers and their problems, basically hampering true worker initiative. We have obtained a kind of confirmation of this conclusion from the authors of the play "Stoppage in Strojna" Jelena Lovric and Mirko Bosnjak, who gladly responded to NIN's invitation to comment on the reactions which their first play had aroused in the public, but also to state the commitments which guided them in writing this piece. It should first be said that the play "Stoppage in Strojna" is the result of several years of experience by these authors in newsgathering and sociopolitical affairs. That is, Mirko Bosnjak was at one time a newsman and editor of VJESNIK, and is today a member of the Presidium of the Zagreb City Conference of the SAWP, while Jelena Lovric is employed as a reporter on the review START.

What the Authors Say

"We decided on stoppages as a subject," the authors say, "for two reasons. First of all because we believe this not to be a peripheral, but an extremely important social phenomenon. It also seemed to us that television is not doing enough in its dramas to follow certain important events and currents in our social life. With our play we attempted to make our contribution, and the strike as a phenomenon seemed to us a real challenge. After all, in their way stoppages have always been a compressed expression of all those latent dilemmas, conflicts, dissatisfactions, resentment and finally desires for the present situation to be changed for the better. We were aware that this was not an ordinary subject, was a subject which has not in a way been granted its citizenship.

"We were criticized most," Bosnjak adds, "by those whom this play itself criticizes. It naturally would be a bad thing if all of this were not spoken about in public, if the differing opinions were not heard. Reactions to this kind of social and political phenomenon cannot be all on the same side, just as the stoppage itself is not an unambiguous phenomenon. We are not discouraged by the criticism; in fact, it convinces us that we must see it through."

As the authors say, they are supported in this attitude by a large number of letters and telephone calls which workers from various parts of Yugoslavia have addressed to Zagreb Television and to them.

"Everything that we have heard and read only persuades us that the workers should not be given instruction and clarification as to what is and is not in their own interest.

"What in our opinion is needed is a frank, thorough and more painstaking discussion of topics like this. Only then will we be able to take a dispassionate attitude toward them."

7045

CSO: 2800

DISCONTENT REPORTED LINGERING AMONG SKOPJE LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1560, 23 Nov 80 pp 28-29

[Article by Toma Dzadzic]

[Text] The woes of Skopje locomotive engineers, which were presented a year ago in their petition with 86 signatures, continue. The Opatina committee decreed party penalties for 13 members of the collective last week.

The Committee of the Opatina Conference of the League of Communists at the Kisela Voda enterprise in Skopje has attempted to use a party penalty to 13 workers to end the year-long disagreement in the Locomotive Section (the basic organization of associated labor "VUCA") of the local railroad transportation organization. The dispute began after the petition last year by 86 Skopje locomotive engineers. Three members were even expelled from the League of Communists. They are Todar Hadzi-Boskov, director of the basic organization, whose behavior in the case of the petition was described as absolutist; Vidoje Stojanovski, president of the executive committee, who for years had criticized the poor level of information in the labor organizations; and Momcilo Ivanovski, who was labelled the ideological creator of the petition.

Secret Justification

The remaining 10, largely party secretaries in basic organizations, leaders or members of self-management agencies and trade unions, received party penalties ranging from final warnings to rebukes. The penalties hit both sides, the leadership and the machine operators, and it is not certain that it had to be this way.

Director Hadzi-Boskov (and some of his collaborators) was criticized at the committee session for "having certain tendencies toward technical bureaucracy." The machine operators, and particularly the engineers, were declared to be dogmatic and careerists, who had come forward from group-oriented positions in order, while hiding "behind social intentions," to obtain "benefits for themselves."

One detail does not easily fit into this mosaic of unusual circumstances. Momcilo Ivanovski, in whose name and person all the disagreements in these events focus, was received into the party organization of the VUCA basic organization of associated labor as a member of the League of Communists in March of 1980. The Opatina Committee still has not verified that decision, but nevertheless, last week it expelled him from the party.

In order to understand the situation better, the following earlier events should be cited.

After a series of railroad accidents, of which one at Stalac was the most tragic in terms of the number killed, the Skopje locomotive engineers tried by their petition addressed to the Yugoslav public (see NIN of 25 Oct 79) to direct popular attention to the notion that the engineers were not solely to blame for the difficulties on the rails.

The petition stated that, in the locomotive basic organization in Skopje, the only target of disciplinary action (in fully 95 percent of the cases) was the locomotive engineers. In violation of regulations, the engineers often must work as much as 20 hours without a break; they are forced to risk their lives and those of the travellers by often operating technically defective locomotives. It was also brought out that transportation from their residences to their working places is not provided. Some of them travel as much as 50 kilometers to their jobs. The engineers who live in Titov Veles travel to Skopje to get their trains, even though they could take over in their places of residence.

The engineers believe that they receive pay so low that it is humiliating when working and living conditions are taken into account, particularly in comparison to the relatively carefree and even comfortable conditions enjoyed by office workers.

They attribute this to the fact that, of the total 1400 employees of the VUCA basic organization, only 450 are locomotive engineers, which means that they are in the minority in the labor council as well, so that they can be outvoted by those in other occupations when all important decisions are made.

The lack of self-management democracy in the enterprise, according to the assertions in the petition, are also reflected in the fact that the director's group has literally appointed the members of self-management agencies. The incompetent have the advantage, they claim, those who favor the clan. Employees have received various privileges, not on the basis of their proficiency in the work place, but according to their social activity. The petition asserts that the "obedient" on freight trains are advanced to express trains ahead of their turns, while it is not the best engineers who travel officially to foreign countries, but rather those who have been "the most active."

Some of the manipulations by director Hadzi-Boskov and his collaborators were described in the NIN issue last year when the petition was published. This reporter had the chance to hear even more such examples during a recent meeting of the labor community at which the engineers showed unusual unity: of all those present, only one did not share the opinions of his colleagues. As his colleagues characterized him, he was one of the privileged.

In A White Suit

Of all the demands of the locomotive engineers presented in the petition, so far only 5 percent have been fulfilled according to the engineers. Those 5 percent which the engineers have succeeded in gaining are reflected in better organization

of transportation between homes and places of work, in which they receive a travel supplement of 3.5 dinars hourly not only for travel time but for the often hours-long delays at train stations. Previously only actual travel time was compensated. For 20 hours spent on the road, the engineers receive a per diem of 70 dinars. They have also made it possible for the engineers to take over their trains in Titov Veles, if they live there. The leadership of the trade union organization has also been changed, and for the first time it is being elected by secret ballot. There were 285 for and 5 against the list of candidates, and Momcilo Ivanovski was elected president on that occasion.

The engineers say that they were unable to prevent the manipulations of the chiefs. Thus Momcilo Ivanovski, Vidoje Stojanovski and engineer Djuro Kescec told NIN that after the stormy events of last year, they were offered better positions.

Momcilo Ivanovski revealed, "They offered to make me the assistant chief of the supply service for the entire railroad transportation organization. In the name of the general director, Chief Branko Isjanovski promised 'that I would wear a white suit, I would not punch a time card, because I would have no formal working hours. I would enjoy life like a traveling salesman.'"

None of those named above accepted the offers. On the contrary, in a single day, without consulting the engineers, their chief was replaced. Instead of Branko Isjanovski, (whom the engineers had accused of supporting the director too much), Dragan Mitic was appointed--at the director's suggestion. Not a single word was said about the engineers' candidate Novak Georgijevski, as if he did not even exist. In that situation, the engineers and their comrades at work refused to accept Mitic by acclamation, regarding him to be the "elongated arm of the director."

Before the news reporters Dragan Mitic declared, at a meeting of the trade union association, "I have come to carry out the justice that the engineers are fighting for! A month later, at a session of the opstina committee, he came out openly as the only one opposed to the party penalty for director Hadzi-Boskov and one of his collaborators.

In such an atmosphere, in which the party secretary Stojan Nikolov from the beginning was on the side of his colleagues the engineers, the opstina committee insisted that he resign. Nikolov attempted to do so, but the workers would hear nothing of his resignation. Finally, the opstina committee punished him with a final warning.

The decision has been made, and the penalties decreed, while the dissatisfied parties have appealed, and probably all of this will be justly resolved at some higher level. It is not certain that all the woes of individuals will stop with that. For example, Momcilo Ivanovski is often called before the disciplinary commission. Once he was reported to have falsified his travel orders. Actually one of his colleagues had exchanged it for some trip (engineers often do this for one another), and as a result Momcilo had received 35 dinars (!) according to the kilometer allowance schedule. Another time, he was reported to the public prosecutor for allegedly ruining the motor of a locomotive on purpose. The report on the malfunctioning motor, however, was prepared only 20 days later, which

means that anybody else could also have driven the locomotive around the station and damaged it.

Who influenced the work of the disciplinary commission was explained by engineer Tome Petrusovski, one of its members:

"On September 13 director Hadzi-Boskov returned a case that had been decided in favor of engineer Momcilo Ivanovski and requested that he be punished anyway. The vice president of the disciplinary commission agreed without a word. I asked him in what sense he considered Ivanovski to be guilty. His answer word for word was, 'I do not know, I am for punishing him!'"

When the present author asked the opstina committee a month ago what Momcilo Ivanovski and Stojan Nikolov were guilty of doing, the committee answered "They have become too prominent." On the comment that perhaps they would not have achieved what they have accomplished had they not become "too prominent," the explanation was embellished with the words, "They have become too prominent in a negative sense!"

There is no doubt that many of the conflicts in the Skopje section for locomotive engineers have come from the fact that one basic organization of associated labor is composed of 5 more or less distinctive labor units, and the one in which the locomotive engineers work differs from the others the most. The resolution of the crisis can perhaps be perceived in the suggestion that this unit be separated into a special basic organization of associated labor. That suggestion has the agreement of the president and secretary of the Kisela Voda opstina conference of the League of Communists, Borce Atanasovski and Dordj Mirovski.

Isn't it a shame that a resolution of the conflict was not sought in that direction a year earlier; in that case these party penalties would never have happened.

12131

CSO: 2800

COMMERCIALIZED MEMOIRS, OTHER POTBOILERS CRITICIZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1560, 23 Nov 80 pp 14-16

[Article by Slobodanka Ast and Milan Milosevic]

[Text] We are being inundated by a wave of occasional and jubilee journalism in a rather chaotic way. The first one to remember something, whatever it may be, publishes it. What does the X-ray picture of Yugoslav journalism reveal?

With his crafty honesty, Branko Copic said recently after visiting the Book Fair: "What is this, am I lost? It looks as if the fewest books are published by writers." When we asked him if he really said that, he answered: "I did, although I must admit that I don't understand that journalism of yours."

And those who do understand "that journalism" agree with Branko.

There are monographs about enterprises, opstinas, regions and cities, in war and peace. Battles are won again and they are lost, the successes of schools, enterprises and individuals are not so glittering if they are not put into a monograph if they are not kept between the covers "for future generations," with golden printing and imitation leather. A primitive consciousness that intimately does not need books, does not experience it as a means of communication but as a monument. (Does the same thing happen with books that happens with cemeteries?) With golden printing we will immortalize ourselves, "our town," "this region." The money will be found, the reason will be found, the jubilee editions line up one after the other.

The book that at times is written in a dilletant manner, as if it really is not intended to be read, is often given instead of a watch, instead of a plaque. A book with golden printing, on fine imported paper, or printed abroad, becomes a coin for ritual giving.

Essential Decor

Expensive, luxurious in preparation and rich in illustrations, the book with the sonorous title is made so that the acquirer may sell it as well as possible. The anecdote is told about a dealer who said, "You do not want to buy that book? Fine, just let me make a note of that...."

Even without that, many of these books are suitable to stand in the display cases of studies and with their covers, to supplement the essential decor that presents a picture of reliability.

Jelenko Bucevac, director of the commercial community of Yugoslav publishers and booksellers states that from the booksellers' point of view, concerning their preparation, these books are of world calibre.

It is as if no one asks whether the book performs its political function. It has been shown from the experience of our few publishers that the political book has sold well, and that it was not expensive when it treated a current political event or problem that engrossed a large number of people. The expensive jubilee books, however, are printed cheaply, for those editions are highly attractive to booksellers, and a good part of the personal and social budgets intended for books go for them. And while that type of publishing flourishes, the warehouses fill with unsold books, of this kind and other types, whose value, it is said, reaches 300 billion dinars. On the other hand, newspaper and publishing houses in Serbia were recently advised to reduce the number of pages printed, and to consider an eventual elimination of some editions, because of a paper shortage.

Another logic continues to dictate to the market: when a sonorous, sufficiently politicized title is found, it is easy to find a sponsor. Not without cynicism, one experienced publisher tells how "some books are published for legitimacy, and some for subvention." The recipe is simple: like magic the treasury opens for those words from the Constitution: unaligned, self-management, revolution. It is as if it is not important to anyone to learn that behind those words there is frequently nothing but compilations and phrases.

One professional essayist, the author of tens of books and essays, is said to have a list of all the important anniversaries, and texts for each occasion. He is ready to write a book in a record time period, to contact the right person and, if necessary, to sell the book out of his portfolio. The publishers have ambiguous feelings toward this kind of author, for he is both a temptation and the golden hen. Some of these authors in the branch of journalism are like Danojlic's Dobrislav, who passed through Yugoslavia. Others are perhaps more elite, for they at least have access to more exclusive archives.

The Commercialization of Tito's Name

The youth newspaper POLET recently, for the first time in its, as the author himself put it, "overly emotive editorial," posed the question: "Do we need 300 books about Tito? How can we prevent the commercialization of Tito's name and work when everyone is rushing along in good and bright intentions and money and earnings are not in any priority, let alone in first place... How can we stop the flood when everything is already inundated?"

The Coordinating Council of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia for Recording the Name and Works of Comrade Tito last week condemned "the flood of souvenirs and publications of very poor quality, along with the fact that the publishers, or their councils, editors and editorial boards have not suffered any consequences because of these acts."

As reported in BORBA, the council sharply criticized the "unacceptable behavior of some sociopolitical workers who acted as patrons for some publications and projects, or those who are prepared in a month's time, along with all their other work, to read 5 books and write reviews. It is clear that this is a case of pure commercialization."

As we have learned, these manifestations will be debated for the first time soon in the Federal Coordinating Council for Recording the Name and Work of Comrade Tito.

There has been a great deal of talk about certain books and transactions recently. Let us look at what happened concerning the projected collection "Heroes of Labor of Yugoslavia," which the Association of Publicists sold even though the book had not yet been sent to the printer. In this manner, 1,530,000 dinars were collected. And what happened to that money? The auditors found only 416,000 dinars in the current account!

Testing Responsibility

As in a crooked mirror, in this example are shown some of the weaknesses of our bookseller constellation. Here, for example, is a list of editions. The Association of Publicists began very ambitiously in 1975 by organizing a conference on the theme "Patriotism and The Revolutionary Tradition;" afterwards it published a collection of essays from the conference. There followed "Ethics and Tradition," "Marxism in the Defense of the Socialist Society," "Albums of the War of National Liberation,"...

Another group of books is political and functional, with such titles as "The Political Lexicon," "A Brief Economic Lexicon," "Handbook for Recording in the Court Records," "Handbook for Special Working Conditions," "Postal Regulations," "Customs and Currency Exchange Regulations," "Handbook for Health Cards," for social rights, for personal income, for personnel card rules....

"How to Maintain a Woman's Health" is another example of a commercial edition, but at least here it should cause no alarm by its untypical nature. And the book "School Equipment" at a price of 250 dinars illustrates how the small publisher thinks first of all about the collective buyer and the book specialist.

What exactly was it that brought the case of the Association and League of Publicists to light? The Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia last obtained information telling about numerous abuses. The public was most interested (and what else might be expected?) in a list of 400 workers who had received honoraria from the League of Publicists. Among them are to be found well-known persons in public and political life. As the TANJUG report from that session of the Serbian SAWP Presidium states, "the majority of those people earned their honoraria honestly, but in any case it is necessary to reexamine their collaboration with the Association of Publicists. If instances of unjustifiably high honoraria are established, that in fact represent 'legal corruption,' then the matter of their moral and political responsibility will have to be raised."

The criminal and political investigation will show how the matters developed in the Association and League of Publicists. In its commentary, the journal KOMMUNIST

said, on the other hand, "It would be extremely naive to believe that all of these collaborators knew (or imagined) the brokers' labarinth they were entering; it would, however, be even more naive to believe that none of them (and others) knew anything about the witches' dances, in which they were directly included." Later, KOMUNIST said, "How much various important people, authorities, or individuals, or functions or institutions that they represent, acted as godfathers in these matters is a question that arises naturally and perhaps becomes crucial."

An investigation will establish individual responsibility of each of those people and in that regard we should not stir up any more dust. It is clear, however, that this affair shows the symptoms of a disease that has long inflicted this "activity of special social interest." Meanwhile the public most frequently keeps silent about these books, and the critics also do not mention them.

What Does the Affair Teach?

Do people think that enormous editorial councils that ring with well-known names and functions are sufficient guarantees? Previous experience casts doubt on the desire of publishers to protect themselves with high-sounding names.

It will be shown finally that many names and surnames are being manipulated. Yet apparently some can be induced (through office chiefs, let us say) to write a text, essay, or review, to give their work. Later it turns out finally, when it comes time to pay taxes, that they have been working "in an agreement with the publisher" for a decade on the piece.

And among these authors "it sometimes happens" that a hyperproductive writer has published 10 titles in a record time period, as can be seen in the Book Catalog for 1980, published by the Commercial Section of Yugoslav Publishers and Booksellers, Belgrade. It is symptomatic that in such a series some titles remind one of others. The anecdote is told about 2 publishers who published 2 books by the same author, at the same printing house, and by fate, both texts were given to the same tired corrector, who grabbed his head, thinking that he had mixed up the texts. It turned out that he had not, for the books simply contained rather similar sections.

Sometimes the text of a book will even contain an "applause" (from the stenogram) that has not been crossed out. Speeches go into leather covers even when their content does not warrant it.

What is the motive? Money? Theoretical pretensions? Prestige?

One thing is absolutely certain, in this political time. That is that people in the challenge of self-management need more ambitiously written and more usable books.

The Books That Have Not Been Unpacked Are Going Well

The researchers of the Institute for the Study of the Cultural Development of Serbia have noticed that in the last 10 years precisely in the area of political literature, the share of the so-called "non-professional publishers" (the workers universities, political organizations, and associations) is considerable. It is

estimated that in the last 10 years, more than 1800 "political titles" have been published totaling 14 million copies. Some of them have already been evaluated as publishers' ventures, but a good part of this production, particularly the small volumes intended for various political schools, the needs of everyday party and trade union life, avoid public judgement. Those "brochures" that according to the witness of one publisher "are going well" often remain in their packing crates. The fate of these pseudotextbooks is not examined by anyone, or of interest to anyone.

The politicization of life and self-management certainly requires more intelligently written, more understandable "political books" that naturally will be read and used. "A Handbook on Personal Income" is simply an adept commercial answer to part of that which practical needs requires.

Political literature obviously appears in large editions, and therefore it is even more disturbing when in this area behavior is so unguided. For example, many "non-professional publishers" are taking over the business of the "professional ones," at times in amateurish ways, at other times actually with a refreshing result.

The authors of these texts are paid like the highest literary talent: 6,000, 8,000, 10,000 dinars per printer's page. In some variants they work on a percentage, and when the author takes on some other tasks, such as marketing, then he receives as much as 20 percent of the price of the book, and sometimes more. In comparison with the honorarium that a young scholar can receive in certain journals for his original study, these sums are very high, particularly if they are received for the collected stenograms of symposia, conferences, congresses and "round table discussions."

Often the author's job and the work of collaborators on lower levels stands behind these texts. It should certainly be stressed that there are people in official positions who publish articles in journals and newspapers but refuse the honoraria, saying that to publish them is their social obligation. They then give the money to the Tito foundation for schooling young workers.

Large and Small

These subsidized books are often made according to the specifications and taste of the collectors (only one-fifth of these books are sold through booksellers). The formula is simple: the book must have a high price, in order to carry large rebates. The rebates go not only to the collectors, but to the big publishers from the small publishers. It is said that the rebates reach as high as 65 percent for some books. In that dark mosaic it is truly difficult to reach a completely accurate diagnosis concerning who is to blame for the chaotic situation in the publishing industry. The "large" publishers accuse the "small" for hazardous ventures and for seeking legitimacy (with sonorous and imposing titles, political names among their authors, etc). The small accuse the large of monopolistic behavior, of being inert, of making publishing plans that are set in concrete years ahead of time, and justify their actions by saying that they fill the gaps in the ventures of the large publishers. The truth is probably somewhere in the middle.

How can the flood of these subsidized books, these texts for the showcase, be stemmed? How can the political propaganda book be made worthy of the subject of which it tells? Some of NIN's contacts attribute importance to reviews, while others consider their role to be a relative one. One small publisher said that it is all but impossible to get a negative review. More often it happens that the author himself provides the reviews, flattering ones of course. Others see the solution in social councils.

And Where is the Solution

Cedo Males, the chief editor of the Radnicka Stampa publishing house, thinks that the vital link in the chain is the responsibility of the chief editor. His justification determines whether or not a title will be accepted. Often those who participate in public discussion about a coming book have only a minimal general task to perform. The editor is the one who, in the last analysis, reads the text and sends it to be printed.

The problem, however, is more general, for poor occasional books are made by both large and small publishers. Therefore, perhaps David Atlagic, president of the Conference of Publishers of Marxist Literature and director and chief editor of the Komunist publishing house, is right in saying that the most important thing is to promote an atmosphere of public dialogue.

There are no "bodies" or "authorities" who could bring order in this area. We must promote a critical dialogue about books.

Throughout the world political journalism, memoir literature and historical texts in general are at the top of the best-sellers lists of reader interest and book-sellers' ventures. In Yugoslavia as well, in truth somewhat belatedly, that wave has also taken hold.

Jelenko Bucevac, the director of the Commercial Community of Yugoslav Publishers and Booksellers, estimates that the number of journalistic titles is perhaps greater than the number of books being published in traditional popular belles lettres. Journalism, memoirs, essays and the like in Yugoslavia, however, appear chaotically. The first one to remember something prints it, there is no planning or serious criticism.

Tone Turnner, general secretary of the Union of Associated Veterans of the War of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, bitterly remarks that people used to write books to give something, but today they write them to take.

But more on that subject next time.

12131
CSO: 2800

BRIEFS

POLICEMEN SENTENCED--Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian on 21 December 1980 on pages 24-25 reports sentences ranging from 5 to 7 years at hard labor for three police employees charged in the beating death last summer of a young man, who had not even been arrested, at the police station in Priboj-on-Lim, Serbia [for earlier reports on this case, see JPRS 76573, 8 October 1980, EAST EUROPE: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No 1817, pages 68-69; JPRS 77080, 30 December 1980, same series, No 1837, pages 53-61]. Apropos the larger question of police violence, the magazine goes on: "At the trial, and in the environment of the trial, one could sense that unlawful resort to the nightstick and to force in general is more widespread than police statistics indicate. Serbia's republic-level Secretariat for Internal Affairs reports that means of compulsion (firearms, rubber nightsticks, physical force) were used 772 times in 1977, 713 times in 1978, and 670 times in 1979 (2 to 3 times a day!), and that the use of force was adjudged to have been justified in 95 to 97 percent of these instances. It would be grand if these figures were truly accurate, but that is unlikely to be the case. Our editorial board has received a bunch of letters describing incidents with nightsticks. We refrained from publishing them so as to avoid disturbing the normality of the climate surrounding the trial which was taking place at Uzice." [Editorial report]

CSO: 2800

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

Feb. 4 1981